

The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (The Great)
A Universal History from the Creation

Translation and Introduction by
Matti Moosa

A publication of the Archdiocese of the
Syriac Orthodox Church for the Eastern United States



The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (The Great) A Universal History from the Creation

Translation and Introduction by
Matti Moosa

Beth Antioch Press, 260 Elm Avenue, Teaneck, NJ 07666, USA
Copyright © 2014 by Beth Antioch Press

Cover art copyright © 2014 Lee Forrest

All rights reserved under International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, scanning or otherwise without the prior written permission of Beth Antioch Press.

ISBN 978-1-939682-09-3



This material is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes.

Dedicated to:

His Eminence Mor Cyril Aphrem Karim, Metropolitan of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch of the Eastern Part of the United States of America, for his most commendable effort in promoting and perpetuating the legacy of the Syrian Orthodox Church

And

In loving memory of my father Ishaq Moosa (d. 1960), deacon and malphono (teacher), who for decades served the Syrian Orthodox Church and the School of Mor Tuma (St. Thomas) in Mosul, Iraq

The publication of this book is sponsored by the Yunan Family.

Dr. Evelina, Malak, Samira, Ramsey, James, Mona Yunan Weig and Blair Weig.

In Memory of their parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, uncles and aunts. Elias and Jamila Johar Yunan Khbaiz Id Dayr, Rose, Yunan, Yacoub, Marcos and Mary who toiled to give their children the best available education.

The publisher is grateful to the Yunan family for their continuous support, and asks the Lord to bless them and to grant eternal rest and peace to their beloved departed ones.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Ten: On the time of the death of Malik Muhammad, and the death of Iwani (John), king (emperor) of the Greeks in the same period; the death of Sire Fulk, king of the Franks and of Jerusalem; the death of Dawud amir of Hisn Ziyad, and other world and church events which took place in this period.....	660
BOOK SEVENTEEN	663
IT TREATS THE EVENTS BEGINNING WITH THE YEAR 1455 OF THE GREEKS, WHICH IS THE YEAR, A.D. 1125 AND THE YEAR 524 OF THE ARBOYE (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 83 OF THE TURKS, AND THE YEAR 6673 OF ADAM.....	664
Chapter One: The period of the reign of Manuel of the Greeks; the reign of Baldwin of the Franks; the reign of Yaqub (Jacob) Arslan of the Turks, and other events that took place during this period.....	664
Chapter Two: On the calamity of Edessa the noble city of the Christians in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), which the Turks captured with the sword by the permission of (Divine) justice, and because of our iniquities.....	665
Chapter Three: On the events which took place among the kings of the earth; on the Church of the Orthodox, and on the events which took place during the calamity of Edessa.....	667
Chapter Four: On the assassination of Zangi, and other events which took place in this period.....	669
Chapter Five: on the second devastation of Edessa, and other matters.....	670
Chapter Six: On the coming forth of a great number of people from the West after receiving the deplorable news about Edessa; and the diffusion of a satanic cult among the Greeks; and some church events which took place in this period.....	673
Chapter Seven: The story of Edessa by its Metropolitan Basilius (Bar Shumanna)	675
Chapter Eight: On the period in which the Armenian Thoros ruled Cilicia; the different events which took place in the world; and on the Church of God.....	677
Chapter Nine: The plundering of the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum in the year 1459 (A.D. 1148) by Joscelyn (II)	678
Chapter Ten: On the death of Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers, lord of Antioch); on Baldwin and Ryland (Reginald), lord of Kesum; and the plundering of the oxen and the sheep of the monastery by the Turks	680
Chapter Eleven: On the Turks' control of the regions under the control of the Franks; on the fall of Joscelyn (II), and how the right hand of our lord Mor Barsoum was returned to the monastery	684
Chapter Twelve: The aftermath of the fall of Joscelyn, and the control of all regions by the Turks	685
Chapter Thirteen: It consists of two parts: Part one about the miracle that took place in Antioch, and the church built in it after the name of Mor Barsoum. The second part consists of a word of exhortation.	687
Chapter Fourteen: On the death of Daula, lord of Melitene and what happened to him and his countries; on other events that took place in this period; and the quarrel stirred up between Maphryono Ignatius and his congregation.....	689
BOOK EIGHTEEN	692
WE, BY THE HELP OF GOD, WILL TREAT EVENTS FROM THE YEAR 1464, WHICH IS THE YEAR 1153 OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD, THE YEAR 531 OF THE HIJRA (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 93 OF THE TURKS AND THE YEAR 6683 OF ADAM AND THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION.....	692
Chapter One: On the Franks' wresting Ashqalon (Ascalon) from the Egyptians, and other events that took place in this period	692
Chapter Two: On the time when Bohemond, son of Bidawi (Raymond of Poitiers), reigned in Antioch; and the entry of Amaury, king of Jerusalem into Egypt; the death of Jacob Arslan and the Maphryono Ignatius; the defeat of the Franks at Harim where the lord of Antioch and Tripoli was captured.....	694
Chapter Three: On the death of the sultan of Mosul and the caliph of Baghdad, and on Nur al-Din going down to Mosul, and the plundering of St. Matthew's Monastery, and the convening of the council of Mor Hananya Monastery.....	696
Chapter Four: On Nur Din's war against Mosul, and other events which took place in this period	697
Chapter Five: On the coming of Sultan Kilij Arslan to Melitene and his departure from it; the unanimous intention of the amirs to fight him by the instigation of Nur al-Din; the circulation of false reports about	

the death of Nur al-Din, and the conflict between the Turks and the Arabs under his rule	699
Chapter Six: On the murder of Isma'il, governor of Cappadocia, and the setting up of his uncle Dhu al-Nun; the appearance of Nur al-Din, and the spread of famine because of the multitude of harsh (Divine) disciplinary actions	701
Chapter Seven: On the death of Nur al-Din and King Amaury (Amalric); and our moving to Amid; and the death of the Catholicos Narses.....	703
BOOK NINETEEN	705
(lacuna).....	705
BOOK TWENTY	705
IT BEGINS WITH THE YEAR 1486 OF THE GREEKS WHICH IS THE YEAR 1156 OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD, AND THE YEAR 553 OF THE ARABS (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 114 OF THE TURKS AND THE YEAR 6655 OF ADAM	705
Chapter One: On the period of the cessation of the rule of the Danishmends in Cappadocia, and its rule by the sultan of Iconium; and the beginning of the kingdom of another Baldwin in Jerusalem; and the tempest which tossed our church by men of our own	705
Chapter Two: On the murder of the amir of Melitene, Mleh (Malih), governor of Cilicia, and Amin al-Din, governor of Mardin all in same period. On the events which took place in this period; the murder of the metropolitan of Tur Abdin, and Salah al-Din the Egyptian who ruled over Arabia; and the governor of Mosul who retrieved from him the occupied regions; and the Turks who ruled in the Mountain of Sasso	707
Chapter Three: On the time when Salah al-Din (Saladin) departed Egypt and ruled Damascus, and his triumph over the lord of Mosul. In this time the Franks who were detained in Aleppo were released.....	709
Chapter Four: On the death of Najm al-Din, lord of Mardin; the war between Sultan Kilij Arslan and Manuel, king (emperor) of the Romans, and other events which took place during this period	711
Chapter Five: On the defeat of Manuel, king (emperor) of the Greeks by Sultan Kilij Arslan	713
Chapter Six: On Sultan Kilij Arslan II, assuming dominion over Melitene; and the rest of events that took place here and there in this period.....	714
Chapter Seven: The departure of Salah al-Din (Saladin) from Egypt to Palestine, his defeat by the Franks, and the events that took place in this period	715
Chapter Eight: Our pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the third time; and other events	717
BOOK TWENTY-ONE	719
IT BEGINS WITH THE YEAR 1491 OF THE GREEKS WHICH IS THE YEAR 1181 OF THE NATIVITY OF OUR LORD, AND THE YEAR 558 OF THE TAYOYE (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 119 OF THE TURKS, AND THE YEAR 6660 OF ADAM AND THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION	719
Chapter One: On the death of Manuel, king (emperor) of the Greeks; Bar Wahbun's attempt to transgress the canons and his fall like the fall of lightning from heaven.....	719
Chapter Two: On the sudden death of the Turkish rulers of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia); on the coming of the sultan to Melitene and summoning me (Michael Rabo) to meet with him; and the deplorable incident of the burning down of the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum that took place in this period; may his prayer be with us	723
Chapter Three: On the time when Isaacus, that is Ishaq, ruled over the Greeks; and the different world events which took place in this period.....	726
Chapter Four: On the claim of astronomers that a storm would blow up and destroy the entire world as did the Flood in the time of Noah, and their frustration for it not taking place; and on the events which took place in this period.....	727
Chapter Five: On the time of warfare between the Kurds and the Turkomans, and their massacre of the Christians in the Tayoye (Muslim) domains; and their eradication of other people.....	729
Chapter Six: On the time when Jerusalem was seized from the Franks by Saladin, sultan of Egypt, and subjugating it to the Tayoye (Muslims); and on the events which took place in this time	731
Chapter Seven: On the coming forth with zeal of the kings and the people of the Franks from the country of Italy to Jerusalem, and other events which took place in this period.....	733

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Eight: On the time of the death of Kilij Arslan, sultan of the Turks, Bithynia, Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia; the death of Saladin, sultan of Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, and other events which took place in this period	734
With the hope of God Almighty, we write down the names of the chief priests in the upper column and the kings in the lower column who are set in order in this book one after the other in order to make them easier to find.	736
By the grace of God, we write about the ancient Aramaean kingdoms, which are the descendants of Aram who were called Syrians that is the natives of Syria. We have gathered about them truthful testimonies from books characterized by precision	736
By the grace of the Lord of all, we append the names of the patriarchs who were set up in our Orthodox Church one after the other beginning with the blessed Sawera (Severus) until our time	740
Names of the chief priests (bishops) of Jérusalem.....	765
Names of the bishops of Edessa.....	767
Names of the bishops of Melitene.....	769
Names of the bishops of Amid.....	769
Names of the bishops of Takrit following the martyr Babai.....	770
Names of the Armenian kings and the years of the reign of each of them	776
Addendum.....	781
 Bibliography.....	 786
 Index.....	 792
 About the Translator	 827

Maps by various cartographers appear in an attachment to the present extract.

BOOK EIGHTEEN

WE, BY THE HELP OF GOD, WILL TREAT EVENTS FROM THE YEAR 1464, WHICH IS THE YEAR 1153 OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD, THE YEAR 531 OF THE HIJRA (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 93 OF THE TURKS AND THE YEAR 6683 OF ADAM AND THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION

Chapter One: On the Franks' wresting Ashqalon (Ascalon) from the Egyptians, and other events that took place in this period

In the year 1464 (A.D. 1153), King Baldwin (III) of the Franks in Jerusalem was still a young man, and his mother (Melisend) administered the state. However, when he reached the legal age, he wanted to be the sole ruler ...lacuna...

In this period, the prince of Caesarea Cappadocia issued an order to demolish all the churches. Because of this the priests ...lacuna...

In this period Jacob the rhetorician of Melitene, already mentioned, was ordained a bishop for Mar'ash. The reason for his ordination was ...lacuna...

Note: The copy of the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of The Chronicle of Michael Rabo, published by Gorgias Press, 2009, contains only the above passages at the beginning of Book Eighteen, Chapter One, followed regrettably by a lacuna from page 659 to page 679. The text then resumes on page 680, only to be followed by a second lacuna from page 683 to page 698. In his French translation of the Chronicle of Michael, Rev. J.B. Chabot filled in these lacunas from Bar Hebraeus' Chronography and his Ecclesiastical History, in order to give the work continuity and maintain a coherent series of events. However, he admits that what he filled from Bar Hebraeus was mere résumé and, to an extent, conjecture. I have personally decided to adhere to the original text by adding nothing to it. In addition, since most of the chapters of Book Eighteen, the title and some chapters of Book Nineteen are missing, and the remaining chapters are not numbered, I thought it necessary to number them for the benefit of the reader. (Trans.)

...lacuna... he opened his storehouses in Antioch and fed the people from the beginning of March until June. *End of the narrative.*

... he set up mangonels (engines of war) and built towers supported by iron. They never kept still all day long, and a great number of people perished. A Turkish prince from the clan of Ataturkians was in the city (Amid). He had a shrewd Vizir named Ibn Nisan Kalam al-Din who had placed everything including gates, walls, army, city dwellers, villagers, and money under his authority. Amir Jamal al-Din was a meek old man and subject to Ibn Nisan, from whom he received bread to eat. With established determination and cunning, he overwhelmed the power of the army that surrounded the city. He urged the people in the inside with honey-like words and promises of gifts, in order to protect the wall and fight the enemy. Meantime, he prepared arrow-throwers and operators of mangonels (engines of war) on the inside more than on the outside. Three times at night, he sent three groups of men to burn down the armaments of those outside. They destroyed the towers where the fighting was carried out with huge rocks. In the meantime, he strengthened on the inside the huge stone columns with lime both in length and width. While he was engaged in constant fighting, he sent delegations to all amirs to make them enemies of his enemies, and he succeeded in what he wanted.

He made Jacob Arslan, lord of Cappadocia, his ally although he was the father-in-law of Kara Arslan. In fact, the letters he received from Amid and the oaths that the people would be subject to him, made him turn against Kara Arslan and save Amid from his grip, as a revenge for what he did to him in the case of Melitene. When he attacked his region pillaging and spoiling, Kara Arslan departed Amid brokenhearted after having endured (adversity) for five months and after spending abundant money, and went to Hisn Ziyad in his own country. Then, Jacob Arslan invited him to make peace with him, but he refused. In turn, he ravaged Kizan, Kharsan and Tell Batriq, and captured by military force the fortress of

Shumushki and evicted from it a thousand men, women and children and animals. Among those evicted was Ignatius, bishop of Tella, situated on the River Arsanius. He also captured Qamah and returned to Melitene. He seized the bishop of the fortress, but released him after two days.²³⁰⁶ *End of the narrative. He who reads let him pray for the weak and sinful Michael Urbish who transcribed (this book).*

For many years, even Muslim Turks, Kurds, and people from other nations visited the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, especially on his commemoration, which extended for several days. They came to seek the grace of healing, and many received it. However, scarcity of water caused them some distress. Water was brought from a far distance to the monastery on the backs of mules. The metropolitan of Mardin, who was an expert in land survey, and had the ability to extend aqueducts with facility wherever the monks wished, wanted to perpetuate his name in that holy place. However, the monks refused on the pretext that a gigantic work like that could not be accomplished while the Turks were surrounding the monastery from every side. They also could not believe that water ducts could be extended through caverns and rocky places to the top of the mountain. They reasoned that, "Ancient people were wiser and more intelligent than us, and yet could not carry out such work, how can we ourselves then do it?" Days passed by, and I, the weak Michael (Rabo), was called to be the archimandrite of this monastery. God, whose power is manifested in weakness, strengthened my feebleness. I addressed a letter to the Metropolitan Mor Yuhanon who responded to my appeal with alacrity. Upon exploring the spot, he was convinced that he could draw water to the monastery. The work began by digging the ground and making ready the necessary tools. When the winter overtook the workers, the metropolitan returned to his diocese hoping to return to the work in April. Here, I would like to keep silent over the complaints and harassment of the brother monks caused by Satan who wishes the people no good, corporeal or spiritual, and who has instigated them, old and young, to murmur against my weakness saying that I am squandering money and mistrust those around me. Thus, the entire (monks) unanimously maintained that the monastery was heading toward ruin. Nevertheless, I endured all of this with magnanimity while seeking help by the prayers of Saint Mor Barsoum. While receiving these stings, I tried to convince some by words in order to mitigate the vehemence of their hot zeal, and win others by praying instead of insults with the intention to shame them.

Finally, spring arrived and the venerable metropolitan returned according to his promise. Instead of the malice, which we were expecting from the neighboring governors, we received encouragement and support from both Christians and Muslims. Emboldened, the monks endorsed the project by the power of our lord Mor Barsoum, who triumphed over the hatred of the devil. Each one of them rushed to work trying to be in the vanguard. They did this especially when some of them saw visions at night or during work indicating the interest of the saint in this work, although this may sound strange. Those who consider visions sheer fantasies should not disdain these visions. In fact, Mor Barsoum appeared to some monks and servants who opposed this idea and tried to hinder the work waving a string in his hand and saying, "I would like to draw water to this place."

During the work, the following incident took place. While the digging went on, a huge rock obstructed the work and the workers tried to move it. Because of the intensity of rolling it, the foot of one of the workers slid, and he fell under the rock, which rolled over him. I do not say it was a mountain that rolled over him, but a rock. The people rushed to see whether any bones of that young man, whose name was Barsoum, were left intact. When they got to him, they saw that he was caught between two small stones, and he was alive and wholesome without bodily scratch. All of us witnessed this incident with our own eyes and touched him with our hands.

If some were, then, skeptical about this contrary-to-nature miracle mentioned in the life story of the saint (Mor Barsoum), concerning the young man under whose belly iron was crushed but he was kept alive, this incident confirms the miracle of the young man who was caught between two stones. Indeed, the power that enlivened the former young man is itself what kept this young man alive. How long the speech may be, it remains incapable of absorbing of all the miracles that took place during this work. I have, in fact,

²³⁰⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 287.

recorded only a small amount of them. Nevertheless, I should relate briefly the miracle that took place at the end of this work.

We were disappointed when a big rock obstructed the flow of water to the monastery, and there was no means of breaking it or setting up something to dam it. Saint Barsoum appeared to a monk, who was a stranger, and said to him, "Go and tell the laborers and the archimandrite of the monastery not be frustrated, and they will find the course of the water in such and such place." When the monk revealed his vision, no one believed him because the spot he indicated in the mountain was a massive rock. Nevertheless, the monk dug up the spot by himself and discovered a cleavage in the mountain five hundred paces long, no more and no less. Those present were astonished and praised God. Some of them said that the cleavage was old, while others said that the Lord has recently split it. I, (Michael) say that, "Whether the cleavage is old or new, it is the power of God which is in the Saint Mor Barsoum confirming that it is of God's work and not of ours. I hope no one will entertain bad thoughts thinking that I have written untrue events among those, which I have compiled in this book. In fact, I decided to record many events in order not to discuss them at length. I also hope that no one will believe that I count myself among the combatants. This is why I did not mention what I have suffered except a smattering. I only recorded very little. I do not overlook my weakness. And what I have written I did so to obtain the prayers of the venerable people who read this (narrative) and learn that the work ended on August 24, 1474 (A.D. 1163)."

Chapter Two: On the time when Bohemond, son of Bidawi (Raymond of Poitiers), reigned in Antioch; and the entry of Amaury, king of Jerusalem into Egypt; the death of Jacob Arslan and the Maphryono Ignatius; the defeat of the Franks at Harim where the lord of Antioch and Tripoli was captured

When Rangad (Reginald of Châtillon) was captured by the Turks in Aleppo,²³⁰⁷ his wife claimed that she was the heiress of her father in the principality of Antioch. Therefore, she was given its administration. She had a son, who had come of age, but she did not allow him to assume power. She became subject of the skepticism of the leaders ...lacuna...

Because of his acute illness and suffering, the Maphryono Ignatius wanted to come to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. Some of his disciples carried his books and possessions and reached the village of Hil in the province of Nisibin ...lacuna...

In 1476 (A.D. 1165), wheat was very scarce, especially in the regions of Antioch and Cilicia where the price of one-half measure was one dinar. Finally, it vanished completely.

In the same year, the Vizir Jamal al-Din of Persian origin who was in Mosul was assassinated. He had delegated the maphryono to the king of the Iberians. Zangi had appointed him an administrator in Mosul and gave him one tenth of its revenues. He became wealthy and of prominent position. He represented ...lacuna...

Here follows a lacuna of fifteen pages. The narrative resumes on p. 698

... let us fear brothers, let us fear. If an earth tremor can cause fear of such magnitude, who will then be able to endure the forthcoming judgment on that awful day?

As we were standing at the altar of the Monastery of Mor Hananya (The Za'faran Monastery), we fell with our faces before the Table (of Life) and held onto it while we were vacillating from here to there. We supplicated God heartily to make us worthy of the end (the life to come). After a long while, we returned to ourselves, bewildered, as if we had come back from the grave without hope. Tears flowed down

²³⁰⁷ Reginald of Châtillon was captured by Nur al-Din Zangi at Harim in 1164 along with Raymond III of Tripoli, and were taken in chains to Aleppo and imprisoned. See William of Tyre, *History*, 2:299; Ibn Kamil *al-Tawarikh*, 1:537-540; Ibn Wasil, *Musfarrij al-Kurub*, 1:144-145; Yahya Ibn Abi Tayy in Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 1:239; the Anonymous Edessan, 188-189; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 288; Röhrich, *Geschichte*, 318-319; Marshall W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripoli and the Fall of Jerusalem*, 1140-1187. Princeton University Press, 1936, Reprint. New York: AMS, 1978, 13, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 740.

our eyes, our tongues engaged in praise, and we were like one who had just woken from sleep. We were especially composed when we were sure that the monastery and we were safe from harm. We thanked God even more when we heard of the reports of the calamities that took place in some regions and cities. The tremor had destroyed the city of Berea, which is Aleppo, where abominable things multiplied like in Sodom and Gomorrah. We have seen with our own eyes the reprehensible deeds committed in it. Thousands of Christians were not allowed to leave their homes except for attending the church on Sundays while their necks and feet were bound in fetters, and their cries ripped the clouds. What tongue can discuss, or what ear can endure to hear the kinds of torment suffered by the captives? If a hand wanted to write down some of these calamities, it would need several volumes. Perhaps the atmosphere of that city has become foul because of the reprehensible stench of the abomination of the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) in it.

Many, witnessing these abominations, began to profane saying that the grace of God did not extended to this place. However, by this chastisement, Divine Justice has been merciful to prevent them from committing vile deeds like those committed by the people in the days of Noah before the Flood. Those who said that God could not save the captives from their hands, their bodies have become piled up because of the tremor. Their walls and homes were demolished, and the water and the air were fouled by the great number of those drowned. The city was cleft and many cleavages and subterranean vaults appeared. It was blackened and became a mound of rubble. What confirms even more that the sword of wrath was drawn upon it, is that some of its environs were saved from this calamity. The wall of Antioch on the seashore collapsed. The Great Church of the Greeks collapsed, as well as the altar of the Great Church of St. Peter. Some houses and other churches also tumbled down, and fifty souls perished in Antioch. Gabbula was entirely demolished and so a great part of Tripoli including the Great Church. The seacoast cities, Damascus, Homs, Hama and other cities and villages, suffered damage from this tremor. However, what happened to Aleppo happened nowhere else. Its prince took the tonsure and put on sacking cloth, gathered the people and went to up to Qusayr. He asked their (Latin) patriarch for forgiveness and appealed to him to enter the city. However, (the patriarch) said to them, "Unless you drive out the Greek patriarch, I will never enter the city." When they tried to drive him out, they found him bruised by the tremor. They carried him while he had still breath of life outside the city but he passed away on the road. Then Amaury (the Latin king) entered Antioch and rebuilt its walls and church. Meantime, Nur al-Din (Zangi) rebuilt the wall of Aleppo, and the lord of Samosata rebuilt its wall too. In fact, every Frankish and Turkish governor rebuilt his own domain.

As to us (Syrians), the tiny band in all the cities, God extended to us great help perhaps because we had no king or wealthy man (to protect us). In Aleppo while the entire city tumbled down, our church was saved and not one of its stones was lost. Also was saved the church of Mor Barsoum. In Gabula, our church was saved. In Antioch, three of our churches were saved: the Church of the Mother of God, the Church of Mor Gurgis (Jirjis), and the Church of Mor Barsoum. In Tripoli and Latakia, our churches remained intact. This was because of the glory of God and the courage of our small Orthodox flock. *End of the narrative.*

...the gold, which they were accustomed to deliver at times, and they paid a ransom as a guarantee for their delivering of money every year, he took it and returned to Jerusalem much to the chagrin of the Greeks. A great number of them perished because of the winter, and some of them hardly went back to their country.

In the same year, the foolish young lord of Melitene was carried away by detestable lusts. He attached himself to a sorceress prostitute who incited him to commit all kinds of abominations against the sons of his city and his Turkish troops, much to the displeasure of his nobles. However, he indulged more in his frivolity and laid hand on all the treasures of his fathers. He, accompanied by the prostitute and his companions, departed the city perplexed. When the nobles learned of what the wicked Mahmud had done, they set up his brother the young man Abu al-Qasim as leader. Peace prevailed in the city when he assumed the reins of government. His brother (Mahmud) moved from one house to the other, and we will mention his end later.

When the king of Jerusalem (Amaury (Amalric) 1, 1163-1174), heard that Malih²³⁰⁸ was mistreating the Christians in many ways and everywhere, he went forth to fight against him. Malih asked the Turks to help him. They did, and the battle between the two began. By the help of God, the king triumphed, the Turks fled and Malih took refuge in his fortress. The king besieged the fortress and fought against him. Malih repented, apologized, and pledged allegiance to the king.²³⁰⁹

In this year Izz al-Dawla, governor of the fortress of Agel, died and was succeeded by his son Asad al-Din. Conflict, however, arose between him and his uncle, the lord of Amid, and both of them took farmers captive and sold them as slaves.

...and the region. (The eunuch Amin al-Din, governor of Mardin) usurped our church of Mardin and gave it to the Tayoye (Muslims) who added it to their mosque, a thing that broke our hearts. Some of our people impudently profaned the saints instead of blaming themselves or us because God had forsaken us for our sins and permitted the nations to strike us with this just blow for our sins. Therefore, and with utmost truth, the saints say to us that, "God's name is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you. Woe to that servant whose master is disdained because of him."²³¹⁰ On the next day, that eunuch fell off his beast. He repented and wanted to return the church (of the Christians) but was afraid of the Tayoye (Muslims).

In the year in which the metropolitan of Samosata died, Joseph, who was set up as bishop of Tell Arsanius without being worthy, also died. The faithful heaved a sigh of relief because they did not trust him.
End of the narrative.

Chapter Three: On the death of the sultan of Mosul and the caliph of Baghdad, and on Nur al-Din going down to Mosul, and the plundering of St. Matthew's Monastery, and the convening of the council of Mor Hananya Monastery

In August of the year 1482 (A.D. 1171), Qutb al-Din, lord of Mosul and all of Athor, died.²³¹¹ His brother (Nur al-Din), who was lord of Aleppo, gathered troops at once and seized Nisibin without war. The Tayoye (Muslim) jurists rejoiced because he honored them abundantly. Like them, he observed the rules of the law (Shari'a). He drank no wine and never neglected the time of prayer. The Muslims considered him a prophet. As much as he was magnanimous to the Tayoye (Muslims), he oppressed the Christians. He ordered that any new building of a church or monastery should be demolished. They (Muslims) demolished the foundation of the Great Church of Mor Jacob in Nisibin, which the Nestorians had usurped since the time of Barsoum, the heretic.²³¹² They plundered its vessels and thousands of its books. They did the same to many other places. Nur al-Din appointed a relative jurist named Ibn 'Asrun as a judge and sent him to travel around and destroy any renovation of the churches built since the time of his father and his brother, in order to win God's favor. However, wherever the callous 'Asrun went, the people bribed him, and he swore that the renovation they did was old. When he was not offered a bribe that blinds the eyes, he went ahead destroying and ravaging. When Nur al-Din heard of his actions, he dismissed him.²³¹³

Then Nur al-Din moved from Nisibin to Sinjar and captured it without resistance. In December of the same year 1482 (A.D. 1171), he besieged Mosul.

In that year the (Abbasid) Caliph al-Mustanjid (1160-1170) died and was succeeded by his son al-Mustad'i (1170-1180), who mitigated Nur al-Din's hatred of the Christians for reasons which shall be explained in the tables of years.

²³⁰⁸ Malih was son of the Armenian Leo 1, Roupenid lord of Cilicia, 1173-1175.

²³⁰⁹ On Malih, see Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1: 566-589; and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Babir*, 169; Nicolas Iorga, *L'Arménie Cilicienne* (Paris, 1930), 98; K. I. Astarjian, *Tarikh al-Umma al-Armaniyya* (Mosul, 1951), 214-215; William of Tyre, *History*, 2:386-387; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 292, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 682-684.

²³¹⁰ Romans 2:24; Isaiah 52:5 and Ezekiel 36:22. For the second verse Cf. Isaiah 45:9.

²³¹¹ Qutb al-Din is brother of Nur al-Din Zangi, atabeg of Mosul, 1149-1170.

²³¹² Barsoum of Nisibin, a champion of Nestorianism, died toward the end of the fifth century.

²³¹³ For the career of Nur al-Din, his warfares and inveterate hatred of the Christians, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 681-691 and the many different sources used.

The waves (of persecution) which swept us for our sins reached even the Monastery of St. Matthew in the region of Mosul and Nineveh.

In this year (1170), Qutb al-Din died and was succeeded by his son Sayf al-Din. In the following year of 1482 (A.D. 1171), Nur al-Din, lord of Aleppo, attacked this region (of Mosul and Nineveh). Many neighboring Kurds of the Monastery of St. Matthew learned that Nur al-Din was intending to strike down the Christians. They rejoiced in reviling the Christians, and found this an opportunity to show their hatred of them. They intended to destroy the monastery and ravage it at night. However, the monks were on guard and many times shattered the ladders and killed some Kurds. Then the Kurds assembled at daytime and fought against the monastery, but the men of nearby villages of Nineveh came to the rescue of the monks and defeated the Kurds. The Kurds, cunningly, made false peace with the monks and gave them thirty dinars as a payment of love. The monks believed the trick and sent the villagers home. Then, the Kurds suddenly assembled and rolled a huge rock from the top of the mountain which hit the wall at the spot where the water enters the monastery (this translator saw this rock several times). When the monks tried to rebuild the spot with lime and stones, the Kurds showered them with arrows until they weakened. Then they shouted with one voice and, drawing their swords, attacked the monks killing some of them. Other monks sought refuge in the Upper Citadel of the monastery and were safe. The monk Matta and the solitary monk Denha perished in this raid. The Kurds numbered one thousand five hundred men. They loaded their beasts with the monastery's possessions, not to mention what they carried with their hands. These possessions belonged to the men of the region (mostly villagers) who deposited them in the monastery for protection.

After the Kurds departed, the monks carried all the manuscripts and whatever was found in the Upper Citadel to Mosul and the monastery was desolate of monks and servants. It was a pitiful spectacle meant for our reproach. Then, men of the neighboring villages hired soldiers to guard the monastery lest the enemies might destroy the building. They paid them thirty dinars a month. When the governors of Mosul learned of what the Kurds had done to the monastery, they sent troops and killed a great number of Kurds. However, the Kurds went forth, destroyed five villages in the county of the Nestorians, and killed their inhabitants and animals. They spoiled them and burned them by fire.²³¹⁴

In this year, the monk-priest Hasan bar Kumaib *hgar* (embraced Islam) in Mardin for a conflict with his brother monks.²³¹⁵ The Tayoye (Muslims) captured their monastery known as the Monastery of the Abkar (First Born) in the Mountain of Mardin and converted it to a house of prayer for the Kurds.

In that year the Maphryono Metropolitan Dionysius renovated the Church of the Mother of God in Amid and set up in it his secretary, the deacon Abraham, who taught children how to read. He learned (how to teach) from the metropolitan and taught the children. He also renovated the floor of the church with his own money and from the donations of the faithful.

In the same year, we (Michael Rabo) built a church in the Monastery of Abu Ghalib in the region of Berta in Gargar. In this year, we assembled a council in the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery). Ignatius was ordained as bishop for Tell Arsanius, and Iyawannis for Sebaberik. One of them was from the Monastery of Sergisiyya, the other from the Monastery of Physqin (the Canal). *He who reads, please pray for the weak and sinful transcriber.*

Chapter Four: On Nur Din's war against Mosul, and other events which took place in this period

When Nur al-Din besieged Mosul, the five sons of his brother and their tutor, the eunuch Fakhr al-Din Abd al-Masih from the district of Antioch, were in the city. Because Fakhr al-Din helped the Christians as Mordecai helped (the Jews), the Tayoye (Muslims) were jealous of him as Haman was jealous of

²³¹⁴ For these details see Ignatius Yacoub III, *Duḥaqat al-Tib fī Tarikh al-Qiddis Mar Matta al-Aib* (Gushes of Perfume in Writing the History of the Monastery of the Marvelous St. Matthew), translated into English by Matti Moosa under the title, *History of the Monastery of Saini Matthew in Mosul* (Gorgias Press, 2008), 89-90.

²³¹⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, biography of Michael Rabo calls him bar Kulaib. See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 691 and 694.

Mordecai.²³¹⁶ Nur al-Din himself came to Mosul because of his jealousy of Fakhr al-Din who was administering the city with wisdom. When Fakhr al-Din realized that it was difficult to oppose Nur al-Din, and that the inhabitants were inclined towards him, he sent a delegation appealing for peace. Fakhr al-Din went forth and received a pledge (from Nur al-Din) not to take Mosul from the son of his brother. Nur al-Din went up to the Citadel and appointed for it a eunuch named Sa'd al-Din (Gümüshtigin) to keep it protected for him. Then, he left the city and its region to his brother's son. He divided the other regions among his brothers' sons and daughters giving each one of them their share.²³¹⁷ Then he registered in his name the regions of Mardin and appointed a governor to each of them.

Nur al-Din overburdened the Christians with taxes, and increased on them the land-tax. He issued a decree that the Christians should wear sashes and not grow hair long in order to be differentiated, so that the Tayoye (Muslims) could ridicule them. In addition, he ordered that the Jews should put a red patch on their shoulders to be distinguished (from other people).

In this period Aimry (Amaury), king of Jerusalem went to Constantinople to see the king (emperor) of the Greeks (Manuel I Comnenus). The emperor offered him abundant gold and arms. When he returned to his country, Nur al-Din learned of his visit. He returned hurriedly taking with him the eunuch (Fakhr al-Din Abd al-Masih), lest his remaining would help the Christians. When he left for Aleppo, the (Christian) inhabitants of Athor (Mosul) and Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), heaved a sigh of relief. All these events took place in the year 1483 (A.D. 1172).²³¹⁸

In this period, Melitene was ruled by a fifteen-year-old young man, who was the brother of the governor who was forced to abandon it in disgrace. They married him to the daughter of Kilij Arslan, lord of Hisn Ziyad. While they were celebrating the wedding, the young man went out to frolic, as was the usual custom of the Turks and the soldiers. He fell off his mount and died, and their joy was turned into mourning. People thought to invite the city's old governor to rule the city, but the Turks disagreed. They assembled and swore, and the Christians also swore an oath, they would not accept the one who had abandoned them. Therefore, they set up the younger brother, Fredon, as their ruler and married him to his brother's wife without her consent.

As we have said briefly before concerning Nur al-Din, he was intoxicated with vainglory because the Tayoye (Muslims) considered him a prophet. He tried every means to humiliate the Christians in order that the Tayoye (Muslims) would look to him as the leader of their faith. He became more arrogant after he captured Syria, Egypt and Athor (Mosul and Nineveh), as if he controlled all of mankind. Satan enticed him to decimate the Christians. For this reason, he addressed letters to different quarters. He addressed a letter to the (Abbasid) caliph saying that, "In the Quran Muhammad prophesied that the Muslims will rule for five hundred years without harming the Christians. Now that these five hundred years have come to an end, the Christians living in the countries under the authority of Muslims should be annihilated, and any one of them who does not convert to Islam shall be killed." He also mentioned in this letter that he was prepared to come and see him. However, these words frightened the caliph who realized that Nur al-Din was treacherously intending to oust him as he did to the sultan of Egypt, and appropriate the caliphate because he considered himself a prophet. Therefore, the caliph disappointed him. It happened at that time that the caliph died and his son was set up in his place. He killed the vizier because he did not want him to replace his father. Since the vizier hated the Christians, the new caliph loved them because he hated him. He set free the imprisoned leaders of the Tuma family and restored to them their homes and church. The leaders informed the caliph how his father frustrated the messengers of Nur al-Din when he learned of his deception. He addressed to Nur al-Din a letter saying, "You have no right to claim to be a prophet and issue

²³¹⁶ On Mordecai and Haman, see the entire Book of Esther.

²³¹⁷ See Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 573-577, and his *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 146; Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 1:186; Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, 2:331; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Qulub*, 1:191-193; Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Sana al-Barq al-Shami*, abridged by Qiwam al-Din al-Fath ibn Ali al-Bundari, ed. Ramadan Sheshen (Beirut, Dar al-Kitab al-Jadid, 1971), 93-94, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 395-397 and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 687-688.

²³¹⁸ See the Anonymous Edessan, 196, who discusses Nur al-Din's persecution of the Christians.

laws like a god. You have not truthfully understood what Muhammad said concerning the (five hundred) years. For God did not command us to kill people for no offence." Nur al-Din was ashamed but sent other delegates asking him to visit the grave of the caliph who had passed away. This was in the interest of the Christians because the new caliph was certain that Nur al-Din was cunningly trying to usurp their city and rule over it. For this reason, the caliph sent him a reply threatening him and forbidding him to come to the city.

We should understand that although God placed us under the high-handed power of the Arabs and the Turks because of our sins, yet he did not deprive us, not even one day in any shape or form of his compassion. In fact, he always bestowed his care on us and saved us from our haters for his affection towards his church.

In the year 1483 (A.D. 1172), the monks of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum drove out the old monk Gabriel and he came to us at the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery). We went to the monastery to look into his case and other matters. With us was the venerable Mor Iyawannis, bishop of Kesum in a feeble health condition. On Saturday 24 of the month, he passed away in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. He was well versed in the priestly ranks and of eloquent speech. He was of great renown in the church.

Two months later, that is in October, 1172, our people were immensely saddened for the loss of our Orthodox Church of Mor Dionysius Jacob (Bar Salibi), bishop of Amid. He was a doctor and the star of his generation. Like Jacob of Edessa, this Bar Salibi was worthy to be called "lover of work" because he labored greatly in the field of science. He collected books and wrote many significant books. He penned an important commentary on the Prophets (the entire Old Testament). He also wrote a commentary on the Gospels, the Epistles and Acts and the teachings of Gregory the Theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus), the books of Basilus, Dionysius the Areopagite, Gregory of Nyssa, Saint Severus of Antioch, Peter of Callinicus (al-Raqqā), and hundreds of aphorisms of the solitary Eugris (Evagrius). He also wrote a book on *Disputations* (Syriac, *Oroutho*) in refutation of the creeds and religious faiths contradictory to our Orthodox dogma. He also penned a commentary of the books of philosophers like Aristotle and others, a book on *Divine Providence*, a book on annals, a book on letters and a book containing discourses. He also collected all the melodies of our church in a single book with which he enriched the church. He also enriched himself by preserving the holy canons. We have written a discourse on his life story, his works and literary achievements. Those interested should read it. His body was interned in the southern part of the Church of the Mother of God in Amid next to the graves of Bar Abdun and Bar Shushan. May God have mercy on him, forgive anyone who reads, and pray for my weakness. *End of the narrative.*²³¹⁹

Chapter Five :On the coming of Sultan Kilij Arslan to Melitene and his departure from it; the unanimous intention of the amirs to fight him by the instigation of Nur al-Din; the circulation of false reports about the death of Nur al-Din, and the conflict between the Turks and the Arabs under his rule

When Sultan Kilij Arslan heard of the dissension which took place in Melitene in the year 1483 (A.D. 1172) because of the young amir, he prepared to invade it. However, the inhabitants who lived in it (Melitene) before the dissension had sworn that they were of one united opinion. They sent messenger to Hisn Ziyad asking for the wise administrator the eunuch S'ad al-Din. He strengthened them, encouraged them and united their armies. He confirmed the engagement of the daughter of his master to that young amir. When the sultan arrived at Melitene, he failed to capture it. However, he took about twelve thousand people of the region captive. As to Nur al-Din who was in Caesarea, he urged the amirs of Mosul, Mardin, Hisn Ziyad and the Armenians to join his army. They assembled in the domain of Isma'il the lord of Sebastea, but Nur al-Din procrastinated the entire summer. Moreover, when the winter arrived, and they realized that he was still deceiving them, they marched to the gate of Caesarea to fight him, but the sultan

²³¹⁹ For a detailed account of Bar Salibi, see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated into English by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 432-441.

did not confront them. They asked him to hand over those whom he had taken captive from Melitene, some of whom were already killed and others were at their last breath. As they were killing them, they gathered their clothes and arms. However, the contingent with Salah al-Din (Saladin) reached Egypt, wore black and sat mourning. Meantime, the news of joy reached Antioch while we (Michael Rabo) were in the city.

In this time, the Turkish lord of the fortress of Harim heard that the lord of Aleppo was intending to seize him and kill him. He rebelled against him and joined the Franks. The prince swore that he would not evict him from the fortress, and he helped him and protected him. Thus, submitting to the Franks, he became an enemy of the Turks. However, the Franks reneged on their oath. They assembled from Jerusalem and the seacoast, and were joined by the lord of Tripoli, Rafan (Roupenid) lord of Cilicia, and the count of Phalant (Sic). A great crowd (of troops) joined the prince and besieged Harim for four months. They fought with every conceivable means distressing all people and the city and causing them losses. Many people lost their lives in the struggle. Despite all this, God did not give them victory. This was just because they reneged on their oath and swearing on the Cross and the Gospel. They thought that victory could be gained by human power. When the Turks who were in the fortress weakened, they sent a message to the lord of Aleppo who, after offering them a pledge on oath, they handed to him the fortress. He gave the prince twenty thousand dinars for his losses, and the prince returned to Antioch with a broken heart. In the meantime, the other became famous for what he had taken from the regions of his brother Shahanshah, which they usurped from Dhu al-Nun and from the sons of his brother who were imprisoned by him, and restored them to the inhabitants of Melitene. He appropriated ten thousand dinars a year for his brother but gave no one of them a piece of land. Indeed, he committed a crime against his brother's sons. He slaughtered one of them, roasted him, and sent him on a platter to his father with bread as a meal. He threatened saying, "If you want three more like this one, I will send them to you." When the Turks heard this, they were frightened. Because they were sore distressed, they reconciled and each of them returned to his own town, especially that winter had arrived and their country was desolate of troops.

When the news of the death of Nur al-Din was circulated, the Arabs and the Turks fought each other, and thousands of them fought and killed and were killed. The Christians feared that they might be swept by the wrath of these two peoples. However, the villages were desolate of people and the roads of pedestrians all over Syria, Beth Nahrin and Athor. After the armies of the amirs returned from Cappadocia to their towns in November, Nur al-Din recovered from his sickness and the people knew that he was alive. They dispersed and would no longer assemble. Peace prevailed. In this conflict between the Turks and the Arabs, about one thousand people were taken captive from Kesum. They were bought by the inhabitants of Melitene trafficked in human beings.²³²⁰ *At this point, the narrative ends. He who reads it let him pray for the weak and sinful Michael who wrote (transcribed) it down.*

In July of the year 1483 (A.D. 1172), the Tayoye (Muslims) usurped the Church of St. Thomas in Mardin for the following reason. A certain (Syrian) of Mardin named Barsoum committed adultery with a Tayoyto (Muslim) woman. He was tortured almost to death and his possessions were confiscated. Because Barsoum had renovated the Church of St. Thomas at his own expense in the time of the governor Husam al-Din, the Tayoye (Muslims), said to the governor that the church actually belonged to Barsoum because it was rebuilt by his own expense. Therefore, they (the Muslims) usurped the church and converted it into a mosque. The Christians (of Mardin) who grieved to the extent that they blasphemed against Divine Justice, tried to reclaim the church from the Tayoye (Muslims), but their action angered the Tayoye (Muslims) more against them. They assembled and lodged a complaint against the governor. Because they did not rely on God, they went on profaning him and the saints. The governor dismissed their complaint, and he became more wrathful than before. His wrath was aggravated more because of the case of the monk-priest Hasan bar Kumaib, mentioned earlier. Bar Kumaib, in a fit of anger with his two brothers (monks) and other inmates of the monastery concerning his deprivation of the priesthood, converted to Islam. He fled to

²³²⁰ The above passage seems to be confusing and inconsistent. Perhaps it suffered a lacuna which disturbed its continuity.

Jerusalem. Later, he felt guilty and returned to Christianity. When the governors (of Mardin) heard this, he arrested Bar Kumaib's brothers and the other monks, and they were tortured to death.²³²¹

In September of the year 1483 (A.D. 1172), rain and snow suddenly fell and ruined the grapevines and the olive trees. The cotton and the sesame were blackened as if they had been scorched by fire. This chastisement not only was confined to Syria, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and Athor (Mosul), but also extended to Persia, Armenia, Palestine and Egypt. All of humanity appeared as chaff swallowed by fire and became cinder. It was a fearful and scary spectacle for the viewers who did not completely die or were turned into granite with no feeling. All of this happened because of the sins and abominations of the different kinds of people, which were perpetrated in this evil, and wicked generation, where every one of us has strayed with all his power from the fear of God. Whatever happened, then, is just, although it surpasses what had been written, "But before they turned from food they craved, even while it was still in their mouths, God's anger rose against them."²³²²

In this year (1483, A.D. 1172), Abraham, secretary of Mor Dionysius was ordained a bishop for Amid.

In this year we (Michael Rabo), were at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. We built cells for the patriarchs and for the comfort of the visitors.

In this year began the renovation of the great church of Melitene called al-Sa'i Church in the following manner. Through years, its dome became dilapidated and about to fall down. When the faithful tried to renovate it, they did not do so for fear of the governors. The truth is that they feared that if they began the renovation they might not finish the work. Thus, the renovation was abandoned until this time. When prominent men of the city saw the dome and wanted to begin its restoration, they consulted us as the Patriarch of Antioch. We welcomed the idea and endorsed it. They sent to us the bishop of Tarsus and two presbyters of his own regarding this matter. The bishop asked us to go with him to see the dome. After examining the matter and verifying what the bishop said, we joyfully went there. Immediately, I (Michael Rabo) gave fifty dinars to begin the work, and promised to give even more. The workers demolished the dome, the front and the northern doors and commenced the construction. However, the devil with his malice rose against us in order to render vain the spiritual and corporeal benefits. Still, there were men who helped my weakness, among whom were the Archdeacon Abu al-Hasan and the steward Romanus known as 'Ujan. Romanus, motivated by faith, exhibited a great effort in completing the entire construction. When the people saw that the doors were fixed, even the obstructionists came to the fore and joined those who were concerned for the construction. Thus, they gradually began to demolish segments of that great church and rebuild them. All the people of the city participated in the work. Even the poor and the widows secretly gave what they had to the steward Romanus.

The church was first built in the year 1280 (of the Greeks, A.D. 969), by the Metropolitan Ignatius known as al-Sa'i. The renovation took place first in the year 1483 (A.D. 1172), and lasted six years until 1488 (A.D. 1178) with the total expense of two thousand dinars.

Chapter Six: On the murder of Isma'il, governor of Cappadocia, and the setting up of his uncle Dhu al-Nun; the appearance of Nur al-Din, and the spread of famine because of the multitude of harsh (Divine) disciplinary actions

In the year 1484 (A.D. 1173), Isma'il (son of Danishmend), governor of Cappadocia, was murdered for the following reason. Famine spread throughout the country and the people were distressed by it and by the severe winter. The inhabitants asked Isma'il for food, for he had already stored wheat, but gave them nothing not even a little amount. Several times, they asked him for food but he expelled them and humiliated them. Having become sore distressed by famine, the people decided to kill him and lay hands on the wheat in order to feed themselves and their children. They concurred with each other, attacked Isma'il, killed him and his wife who was the sister of the sultan (Kilij Arslan), and five hundred of his relatives, cast

²³²¹ See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 690-691.

²³²² Psalm 78:30-31.

them on the snow, and would not bury them. In addition, they laid hands on whatever he had in order to feed themselves. No one knew about his murder, not even highway robbers, until February because the roads were cut off by the heavy snow. However, his murderers felt guilty and decided to set up a leader from his own clan. They invited his uncle Dhu al-Nun, who was driven out by the sultan from Caesarea and fled to Damascus, to be their leader. Based on their request, and the assistance of Nur al-Din, Dhu al-Nun came walking on the snow. When he drew near the Monastery (of Mor Barsoum), the monks went out and spent five days clearing the road from the snow. Still, he hardly managed to reach Sebastea to assume the reins of the government. Immediately, he killed the murderers of Isma'il and their companions who deserved the cup that they had mixed.²³²³

Nur al-Din, who was thought to be dead, reappeared. He went out to welcome the Sultan Kilij Arslan. When Gogh Arslan, lord of Kesum, and uncle of the sultan, learned that the sultan did not trust him, he, out of fear, left Kesum and went to Nur al-Din. When Dhu al-Nun began to reign in Cappadocia, the Sultan (Kilij Arslan) went forth to fight him. Nur al-Din assembled his men and captured Kesum, Beth Hisne and Mar'ash, and penetrated the country of Jihan. Then, the sultan left Cappadocia and came to fight Nur al-Din. The two armies met at the region of Jihan. Both were scared of each other because each was strong and had a great number of fighting men. Famine, however, spread throughout the ranks of the two camps and a great number on both sides perished. Both were forced to sign peace through mediators. Nur al-Din surrendered Kesum and all the places he had taken from the sultan, and the sultan permitted Dhu al-Nun to reign in Cappadocia and submit to Nur al-Din. Thus, the two sides reconciled and every one returned home.

Let us now discuss the calamities that afflicted people, animals and birds, which God allowed in this time to strike almost all of mankind. This was done in utmost justice because the spirit of our rebellion overcame our obedience. When in September and October the crops were spoiled, astrologers began raving and saying that nothing of this sort would strike again, but they were wrong. For the Lord doubled his chastisement. Dense darkness prevailed to the point that the light of the sun looked like the light of the moon. Heavy snow fell in abundance and covered the mountains and the plains, and it was difficult to move from one village to the other or from one house to the other. Thus, the alleys of the cities and village were filled with snow, and people were confined to their houses as if they were in graves. The rivers and water springs froze, and people and animals and birds perished from thirst and hunger.

What tongue can describe; or what hand can draw a true picture of the torment that extended to everything which crawled on the ground like animals, and to the birds that fluttered to enter the houses. It was a tearful and painful spectacle, for they soon perished. Even oxen, donkeys and horses perished inside the houses, and (the carcasses) of sheep and goats piled up under the snow. The air reeked from the decomposed corpses. Those people who remained alive suffered immensely. Even the fish did not escape the scourge that was not confined to the northern regions, but extended even to India. The thickness of the snow in some places where usually snow did not fall was fourteen spans. It buried the tents of the Tayoye (Arabs) who did not live in houses and they suddenly perished. There was no one to transport the news from one camp to the other and many houses collapsed as the snow piled up on their tops and killed everyone inside. Many villages totally perished. Snow did not recede until April. Furthermore, snowstorms took many travelers by surprise and buried them on the road. Thus, the gluttonous people fasted in spite of themselves and the drinkers were abstinent in spite of themselves. The kings and the wealthy, the rulers and the poor went on supplicating, weeping and offering alms. However, Satan, who is the enemy of every good, hardened the hearts of kings and rulers not to repent by using astrologers who ascribed this scourge to the juxtaposition of the planet Saturn with Mars and fighting with each other. They said that, "The scourge will lift up when the two planets separate from each other, and will not recur for many years to come. Therefore, there is no need for supplications and giving alms." Many people believed this reasoning, but God exposed their deceit. For this calamity recurred in the following year and lasted from March to the middle of June.

²³²³ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 299, places this event in the year 1172.

Then, those who believed the astrologers admitted that they were charlatans, and that the will of Lord must be fulfilled. We have recorded these events in order that the wise may obtain benefits by faith.

In his period, the Tayoye (Muslims) usurped the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin when God subjected us to another blow. However, his Divine Grace saved this church by a miracle.

In this time, we devoted great attention to the library of the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum. We restored the old books by the help of God. We prepared a parchment for the transcription of two *fanqithos* (service books) for the monastery in commemoration of my uncle, the Metropolitan Zakai and my father Iliyya (Elijah). In this year, too, we restored the spring which supplied water to the monastery.

In this year, the bishop of the Jazira was driven out by the Tayoye (Muslims) whose usurpation of the monastery was based on forged letters. When the bishop was imprisoned in Mosul, men of his congregation went down to Baghdad. After immense loss (most likely offering of ransom money), the monastery was saved and the bishop rescued.

In this time some Armenians from Edessa, one of them a vartaped (presbyter) named Garabed, and two monks, Geork (George) and Ausig, accused their catholicos of Simony that is selling the office of the priesthood for money. The catholicos was angry against them and had their beards shaven off (a sign of disgrace). They became even more incensed against him. They concocted a heresy that was adopted by four hundred families and came to be known as Ausigians. This angered the catholicos even more who sent messengers and gifts to the governor asking him to drive them out of his city. The governor accepted the gifts and permitted the Armenians to stand against them. A great turmoil resulted and the two groups began beating each other. The Ausigians offered the governor gifts and he permitted them to manage their affairs as they wanted. Then they joined the Chalcedonians, and we (Michael Rabo) and the Armenians scoffed at them. When they became immensely distressed, they found a person from Alexandria who knew good Arabic. This man visited Nur al-Din (Zangi) and slandered us, the catholicos and the people of Edessa to him saying that, "Letters have arrived from the king of the Greeks (Roman emperor) addressed to the Armenians and the Syrians to surrender the city to him." The Metropolitan Athanasius accompanied by Armenians and some Edessans went to Aleppo (to see Nur al-Din). After investigating the matter, the Greek person appeared to be a liar. He was driven out and fled to his country. The Edessans returned (to their city) with peace.

Chapter Seven: On the death of Nur al-Din and King Amaury (Amalric); and our moving to Amid; and the death of the Catholicos Narses

Nur al-Din became puffed up by arrogance especially after subjugating Athor, Beth Nahrin, Syria and Egypt whose rulers were like slaves unto him. After subjugating Cappadocia and Cilicia, he prepared to decimate the state of the Franks in Jerusalem and Antioch and the state of the Turks in Bithynia. His messengers in all quarters rushed to marshal armies and assemble them in Damascus. Innumerable multitudes were assembled from interior Arabia, Egypt, Athor, Beth Nahrin, Armenia, Cappadocia, Syria and Cilicia. Fear prevailed everywhere but especially gripped the hapless Christians. However, the Lord who is alone in control of the kingdom of men and who raises the weakest of them to the places of power, commanded, and Nur al-Din suddenly died (in May 1174), and his thoughts perished. His death brought feelings of relief not only to the Christians, but also to the rulers who were discontent with him, particularly because he forbade them to drink wine in his camp, or sing or dance.²³²⁴ Thus, his military camp was always quiet for he constantly listened to the reading of the Quran. He also considered himself like Muhammad and expected God to speak to him one day as he did with Moses. The Tayoye (Muslims) who discovered his false thoughts sarcastically called him a "prophet." They said to him, "You have appeared to us in the mosque," and he believed them. He reigned for twenty-eight years and was succeeded by his son al-Malik Salih in Aleppo and Damascus.

²³²⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 302.

The Armenian Catholicos Narses passed away on Thursday, August 8. He had two brothers, each one of whom had a son who was a bishop. (One of them was older than the other). When the older was absent, his seal was given to the younger and he was proclaimed a catholicos. The older son returned with haste, but the younger would not let him in. The older sought the help of his son-in-law Mleh (Malih), the governor of Cilicia. Malih introduced him to Nur al-Din, and he returned carrying with him the instruction of the Turks. The Armenian people feared that through Malih, he might surrender the region to Nur al-Din. The Armenians brought the older son to the Romaitha (Roman) Citadel without the consent of the younger one. He seized his cousin and placed him under guard, and he was ordained a catholicos on Sunday September 25, 1184 (A.D. 1173). The case of those Christians, whose priestly leadership was not in conformity with the apostolic canons, was exposed. How gracious would it be if kings were just and not tyrannical?

As to the new Catholicos Krikor (Gregorius), he summoned our (Syrian) bishops who were near him. Among them were Gregorius, Bishop of Kesum and Basilius, bishop of Ra'ban, to participate in his ordination. On the next day, he sent to my lowliness (Michael Rabo) a delegation with a letter saying, "I wish you would attend my ordination and be my ordainer. And with your hands will place on my head the right hand of Gregorius (the Illuminator), the evangelizer of the Armenians, because it is the one which grants the priestly ordination. However, we have rushed to finish the service of the ordination for fear of the army of the Turks that has been surrounding us. Therefore, I ask you to fulfill my desire through the Spirit." I answered him as much as my weakness allowed. I blessed him and prayed for him. Still, I did not forget to mention the apostolic canons. However, with love I admonished him not to commit grave sin by selling the office of the priesthood, a practice that has become legal with the Armenians. I reminded him of what the great Peter said to Simon the magician.²³²⁵ The Armenian people appreciated this letter, which was a reprimand to their leaders. I also requested him to release his cousin from prison.

Two Ausigian priests came to us (Michael Rabo) accompanied by a monk complaining against the catholicos. We noticed that they did not understand the teachings of Athanasius and Cyril, or derive from them any authority. They rather said that sometimes these two saints maintained two natures, and other times one nature of Christ. They went on to say, that they have the choice to maintain one nature or two natures of Christ. We began to explain to them many teachings based on the books of these saints, and they deserted the faith which they were maintaining and endorsed the Orthodox faith. We provided them with letters to the catholicos requesting him to forgive them. When they departed, they found that the Catholicos Narses had died. They chose to dwell in our monasteries, and their leader Ausig, went to Antioch and joined the Chalcedonians while the rest of them were dispersed.

After Dionysius ordained his secretary Abraham a bishop for Amid, he lived only three months after his ordination. Meantime, the governor forced the clergy to pay him the amount of a hundred dinars, which the rebel Abu Sa'id had imposed on them. He wrote to us (Michael Rabo) threatening to demolish the churches if we did not pay him a hundred dinars a year. Then, I submitted myself to the Lord and went there (to Amid). The governor was astonished at my arrival and honored me greatly. We found that the churches were closed and some patriarchal cells were destroyed, while others were filled with the governor's cotton. We need not say how much money and expenses were spent for other renovations, but by the help of God, we rebuilt the church of the Monastery of Qanqart with lime and stones, which was formerly built with bricks and timber. In addition, we ransomed the imprisoned men of a village for three hundred dinars while the governor demanded two thousand dinars. We spent all the winter there. When the festivals were over and we had consecrated the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism), and ordained Iliyya and named him Iyawannis (at this ordination), we traveled to Mardin after the New Sunday (the Sunday following Easter).

In this year, rain fell heavily all over causing damages. The flood in Baghdad demolished about thirty houses. The same took place in other quarters. The grapevines and trees yielded no fruits in this year. Wheat and legumes did not come to fruition until the flood subsided.

²³²⁵ See Acts 8:18-25.

BOOK NINETEEN

(lacuna)

Here ends Book Nineteen covering the cycle of eight years. I pray every brother to fulfill the aforementioned evangelical commandment "forgive one another," and forgive me that God may forgive him and have mercy on him.

Note: Since the Syriac copy of the Edessa-Aleppo Codex contains no title of Book Nineteen, it is difficult to ascertain where it began because many pages are missing, as said earlier. Therefore, I preferred to follow the Syriac text by numbering all the chapters of Book Eighteen and then resume the numbering of the chapters with Book Twenty. (Trans.)

BOOK TWENTY

IT BEGINS WITH THE YEAR 1486 OF THE GREEKS WHICH IS THE YEAR 1156 OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD, AND THE YEAR 553 OF THE ARABS (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 114 OF THE TURKS AND THE YEAR 6655 OF ADAM

Chapter One: On the period of the cessation of the rule of the Danishmends in Cappadocia, and its rule by the sultan of Iconium; and the beginning of the kingdom of another Baldwin in Jerusalem; and the tempest which tossed our church by men of our own

After the death of Nur al-Din, his son al-Malik al-Salih reigned. King Amaury (Amalric) invaded Damascus and spoiled it. Then he laid siege to Banyas and the Muslims were gripped by fear. They were prepared to invade the country of the Franks who had come forth to invade their own country. The inhabitants of Damascus sent a delegation promising to give him the tribute as before. The king refused to make peace with them. He was intending to punish them with their same punishment of the Christians. However, the incomprehensible judgment (of the Providence) did not allow this (to happen). Also, the king's ardor dampened when he suddenly became sick and felt that his end was near. He then made haste to accept the money from the inhabitants of Damascus and sign peace with them. He went back to Acre (Akka) where he passed away at the beginning of July 1486 (A.D. 1175), forty days after Nur al-Din's death. (King Amaury (Amalric) died on July 11, 1174. Nur al-Din died in May 1174). He ruled for twelve years and instructed that his young son the fifteen year-old Baldwin IV, who was of the same name of his uncle, to succeed him. When Baldwin IV assumed power, he confirmed the peace his father had concluded with Nur al-Din.

In the summer of the year 1486 (A.D. 1175), Kilij Arslan, sultan of Iconium, heard of the death of Nur al-Din, who was supporting the Banu Danishmend, he penetrated their country and the Banu Danishmend were gripped by fear, and the prophecy of the Prophet Jeremiah, "Cursed is the one who trusts in man, who depends on flesh for his strength and whose heart turns away from the Lord. He will be like a bush in the water lands," was fulfilled in them.²³²⁶ The sultan imposed his dominion on them, destroyed them and seized from them Sebastea, Neo-Caesarea, Comana and the rest of the cities and fortresses of Cappadocia. Sultan Kilij Arslan became strong and glorious. Those amirs fled, every one to a quarter for protection. Their leader fled to the king of the Greeks (Roman Emperor Manuel I), but the emperor did not accept him. Thus, in this time the government of the Danishmends ceased. It began with the going forth of the Turks and their capturing of the regions from the Greeks (Romans) in the year 1366 (A.D. 1055), and ruled for one hundred twenty years. Six rulers rose up from this clan in succession.²³²⁷ *End of the narrative*

²³²⁶ Jeremiah 17:5.

²³²⁷ They are Danishmend, Ghazi, Mahmud, Yacoub (Jacob) Arslan, Isma'il and Dhu al-Nun.

In this time when the leadership of the Danishmends ended in Cappadocia, the grass began to grow in this summer and the crops increased after the great famine, which swept Syria, Palestine, Athor (northern Iraq), Armenia, and Persia up to Sijistan, even to the confines of great India. Now, the Almighty Lord changed things by his intimation, and there was a saturation (of food) especially in Egypt. The crops, especially wheat, were abundant to the point that two camel loads were sold for one dinar.

In this period a storm, not to be taken lightly, was blown against my weakness (Michael Rabo) because of my sins, perhaps that we may partake in the sufferings of the saints although by as much as a little finger. We were not persecuted like the Apostles by the heathens, or like the fathers by heretics, but the storm was stirred up against us by our own brothers. It was a new kind of persecution. However, the truth cannot be concealed from those who love it, and its reward is kept with him (God) who examines everything and knows my weakness.

When I was called to this awesome service (the patriarchate), I deemed it my responsibility to observe and defend the holy canons that were trampled upon and their effect was inoperative. I issued the law that forbade ordination for a bribe, and a law that prevented the usurpation of a diocese or a church by the influence of a king or governor. I also admonished that no one should dare trample upon the canons by moving from one diocese to the other without lawful reason. For this reason, I was opposed by the bishops of Damascus (John), Jihan (Abu Ghalib), Tur Abdin (Ignatius Gabriel), and then the bishop of Callinicus (al-Raqqqa) named Iyawannis Denha. Since the time of Patriarch Athanasius of good memory, Denha's congregation lost confidence in him and launched complaints against him, and many times the patriarch suspended him from service to reform him. These dignitaries themselves launched complaints to us against him, but we, according to our own ability, counseled them and reconciled them with him. I also urged Denha, not only once or twice but for eight years, to abstain from unlawful practices. Moreover, in each year they renewed their complaints against him, not only because he did not keep any promise, but also for his improper conduct.

A council was convened in the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery). Its members listened to testimonies presented against Denha and in his presence. Based on the resolution of the council, we commanded that he should leave his diocese and stay in a monastery in the diocese of Mardin for three years until we treat his case. He consented before the council to comply with the canons. Shortly afterwards, the devil enticed him and he trampled upon the canons. He went to some Nestorian leaders and other responsible men in the region of Mardin complaining against my weakness, and I endured much torment. However, when the men discovered his conduct, they expelled him. He went to the governor and promised to give him a bribe if he killed me, but the Lord had mercy not only on me but also on the church. The governor sent soldiers who took me as someone condemned to death and set me up before him. He spoke to me angrily, but the Lord who promised the faithful that, "At that time you will be given what to say,"²³²⁸ gave me, I, the sinner and unworthy, a power not for my own sake only but also for his church. I defended myself with few words, which revealed the truth, and the slanderer was thrown out. No one, other than God, was with me then except the great master Abu Kair, the archdeacon of Mardin. May God have mercy on him.

Afterwards, Satan instigated Denha against me. He slandered me to the lord of Mosul promising to give him a thousand dinars. The lord of Mosul sent soldiers who arrested me and sent me to Nisibin. Accompanying me were Mor Athanasius, metropolitan of Edessa, Mor Yuhanon (John) and many monks. When we arrived at the camp, they delivered me to the deputy of the Amir Sayf al-Din. He spoke to me gently saying, "Now that you are under our sword, and God has placed you under our command, it is improper for you to resist the king's decree. See to it that before you are dishonored and delivered to be whipped, you should abide by the order of the victorious king. He had ordered that this bishop (Denha) should be the shepherd of the cities under his authority, which are Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), al-Raqqqa, Harran, Sarug and the district of Habura. Therefore, go back to your place in peace or something bad will

²³²⁸ Matthew 10:19.

happen.” I asked God for help and prepared myself for death. I said to him with avid courage, “The three laws are contained in the Old Testament for the Hebrews, the Gospel for the Christians and the Quran for the Muslims. You should explore three of them, especially your book, and see how God commanded kings to administer the affairs of the countries with authority. As to faith, it should be without compulsion but by choice. This made the just kings who came after Muhammad and until our day to observe the law of God and not violate it. They, according to the command of God, imposed on the Christian’s tribute and obedience. However, they did not interfere in the matters of the faith. Now that you are trying to change what they have decreed, you ought to know that you are not doing this against me but against Moses, Christ and Muhammad. You will also be transgressing their three books. In other words, you will be transgressing the command of God. Worst still is that you believe the slanderer. If you want to discover easily that he is a liar, the cities that you say that you have given them to him are still under your sword. Now if he was given them by your order, why do their inhabitants reject him? However, he violated our law and can claim no right with us; he sought the protection of the royal sword. Also, you want me to transgress the law of God and render it invalid. It is easier for me to have my head cut off than violate the command of God.” Then, I stretched my neck and said, “I am stretching my neck by my own will; you may cut it off. But I will not transgress the law.” The captain of the host entered the tent of the king. After a while, he came out, held me by the hand and made me enter the (tent) alone. He let no others, not even bishops or monks accompany me. I prayed for the king at length. His deputy said to me joyfully, “O patriarch, pray for the king Sayf al-Din for he has ordered that your law should be observed, and no one can disobey you.” I repeated my prayers and gratitude for him and left thanking God tearfully. While the bishops and the monks rejoiced, the slanderer who was standing there was disappointed. He tried to kill me in the body and kill himself spiritually. He shouted before the crowd of Muslims saying, “O Muslims! Know that this old man is an impious (infidel). He is trying to Christianize the Tayoye (Muslims) in the countries of the Tayoye (Muslims). Here is the evidence.” He presented a letter, which I (Michael Rabo) wrote a long time ago concerning (Hasan) Bar Kulaib (Kumaib, previously mentioned). When he read it to the Muslims, they were agitated and picked up stones to stone me. The monks with me fled, but God increased his mercy on me. For when the letter was examined, and discovered that it was about Bar Kulaib (Kumaib), a group of Tayoye (Muslim) men from Mardin testified that Bar Kulaib (Kumaib) was a monk and not a Tayoyo (Muslim). Then, Sayf al-Din provided us with a letter and we returned to our place in peace. As to the slanderer, he went down to Baghdad to launch complaints against me to the caliph. When I heard this, I sent letters to the faithful of Baghdad and they drove him out. Finally, he came to us to Antioch, and we prayed over him and sent him to the Mountain of Edessa to wait for us to appoint him to a place (diocese) after we returned to Mor Barsoum Monastery. However, death overtook him before our arrival at the monastery. May God have mercy on him.²³²⁹

Chapter Two: On the murder of the amir of Melitene, Mleh (Malih), governor of Cilicia, and Amin al-Din, governor of Mardin all in same period. On the events which took place in this period; the murder of the metropolitan of Tur Abdin, and Salah al-Din the Egyptian who ruled over Arabia; and the governor of Mosul who retrieved from him the occupied regions; and the Turks who ruled in the Mountain of Sasson

After the death of Nur al-Din (d. 1174), his nephew Sayf al-Din (Ghazi II) seized Nisibin and abolished the rules set by his uncle. He destroyed the rock which was at the mosque and on which the rules were inscribed. He allowed the drinking of wine in public. He was visited by the amirs of Mardin and Hisn Kipha, and then he invaded Harran and occupied it. He did the same to Sarug and Callinicus (al-Raqqa). His cousin (Malik Shah), governor of Aleppo and Damascus, submitted to him and returned to Mosul.²³³⁰

²³²⁹ For more details, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 292-294.

²³³⁰ See Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *San al-Barq al-Shami*, 161-162; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 2:9; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 302-303, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 691-692 and footnote 32 on page 692.

In this year Salah al-Din (Saladin) who was in control of Egypt, invaded Arabia interior and several regions of the country of the Nubians with great success.

In this same year, the Turks seized several fortresses in the Mountain of Sasson, which was ruled by the Armenians for generations. They ruled over the Armenians by the help of the lord of Miyafarqat, who allied himself to the Turks and oppressed the Armenians by starving them, and they were forced to surrender the fortresses to (Sukman II, Nasir al-Din Muhammad 1128-1183, known as) Shah Armen, lord of Khilat.²³³¹

In this year, the king of the Iberians seized the city of Ani from the Persians.²³³²

On December 15 of the year 1486 (A.D. 1175), amir Qutb al-Din (Ilghazi) murdered in the Citadel of Mardin the eunuch Amin al-Din, the administrator of the region. He carried his head by his hand, took it to his aged father, and said to him, "I killed him because he wanted to kill me." The old man said nothing because his mind was confused.

In that same year, the troops rebelled against Mleh (Malih), governor of Cilicia because of his bad deeds and swore to kill him. Upon learning this, he fled the camp at night to one of the fortresses. However, the guards of the fortress who were in collusion with the troops, seized him, cut him into pieces and cast him to the dogs. They brought his nephew (son of his brother) Roupen II, son of Stephen who was hiding in Tarsus to escape his uncle, and made him a ruler over them.²³³³

In this year (A.D. 1175), Qutb al-Din (Qaimaz), an army commander of the (Abbasid) Caliph al-Mustadi' (1170-1180), rebelled in Baghdad. He assembled an army and fought against the caliph in his own palace with the intention that he would proclaim him a sultan. Being immensely distressed, the caliph went up to the roof of the palace. He shouted with a loud voice, weeping, to the people of the city to save him from the rebel. The people assembled and after killing many, the rebel fled with thirty thousand horsemen to the wilderness to save their lives. They began to suffer thirst for five days for lack of water. They sent a delegation to the lord of Mosul who promised to reconcile them with the caliph. While en route to Mosul, a violent hot windstorm blew up scorching them with their beasts. It rendered them like black, burned wood that even predators would not eat them because their heads were calcified like rocks. Only one hundred men made it to Mosul but the physicians could not save them, and their sight was frightful. *End of the narrative. He who reads let him pray for me.*

On Sunday, February 15 of the year 1486 (A.D. 1175), the lord of Melitene (Feridun) was assassinated by his brother (Muhammad) who had been a governor. He fled and lived extravagantly for five years until Nur al-Din seized him, but managed later to escape to Antioch and join the Franks. However, living in Antioch did not suit him, so he went to the Turks to Sultan Kilij Arslan. The sultan gave him Heraclea but he was expecting to be given Melitene. This did not happen and the sultan took even Heraclea from him. He went to the Turks in the east. However, Nur al-Din seized him and cast him into prison in Birah on the bank of the Euphrates. There, he lived on charity with great torment. The monks of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum were bold enough to send him charity with some messenger monks because he had loved the monastery when he was still in power. The monks' action yielded good consequences as shall be said later.

Shortly afterwards Nur al-Din died and (Muhammad) got out of prison. He heard that his brother's wife had left Melitene and went to her parents in Hisn Ziyad because she hated her husband. Muhammad went to Hisn Ziyad, and upon receiving encouragement from its rulers, he returned secretly and found refuge in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. He made many vows to the Monastery that if he regained the rule of Melitene, he would exempt the monastery from taxes. When he reached the city of Melitene in the evening, he entered its gate disguised as a poor man. No one recognized him except the two men who were with him. These men took him to a Turk, who was his follower, and he remained at his house for two days.

²³³¹ The Anonymous Edessan, 202, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 303, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 701.

²³³² Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.*, 303.

²³³³ On Mleh (Malih) see the Anonymous Edessan, 205; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 305; Frédéric Macler, "Armenia," *Cambridge Medieval History*, 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1170-1171, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 684.

In the evening of the aforementioned Sunday (February 15, 1175), (Muhammad, brother of Feridun, lord of Melitene), risking his life, and he and the men with him sneaked out into the garden (of the mansion of his brother) without being detected by the guards. They found a ladder lying on the ground. They set it against the wall and climbed into the house. They found the wretched (Feridun) sleeping and with him his old nursemaid. Suddenly, the young man (Feridun) and the nursemaid woke up and began to tremble. Muhammad struck him dead, (cut off his head) and took the keys of the gates of the city and the citadel and held his brother's head in his hand. He went first to the homes of the leaders whom he was sure were loyal to him. He also went to the homes of others. Whenever anyone of them woke up from sleep and saw the head of the amir (Feridun) in his brother's hand, they trembled and submitted to his authority. Fifteen of these leaders swore fealty to him (Muhammad). When daylight appeared, Muhammad climbed to the Citadel with a hundred men. In the morning, there was a great agitation and a new lord was proclaimed for (Melitene). People were greatly astonished and the Christians kept hiding in their houses. The Turks, wearing their arms and mounting their horses, assembled at the gate of the Citadel. They disputed the murder of the amir (Feridun) until his head was dropped down over the wall, and they lost hope (of his survival). They were forced to swear loyalty to Muhammad.

When Muhammad was established in power, he exempted the monks of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum from taxes, but the monks suggested paying him three hundred dinars a year. They asked him to exempt them only from the excess taxes imposed on the monastery by the amir Ghazi. The monastery had never felt the weight of the taxes before Ghazi came to power. When he came to power, he imposed on the monks the payment of seven hundred dinars of taxes a year. Since Muhammad was in power, the monastery was relieved from this burden. Nevertheless, the monks insisted on paying the amir (Muhammad) seven hundred dinars a year. However, Muhammad had already vowed to abolish all the taxes imposed on the monastery. The monks kept insisting to pay this amount in order to avoid the hatred of the Muslims. To do the monks a favor, he gave them the Monastery of Mor Domitius (Domit). *End of the narrative.*

In the year 1486 (A.D. 1175), Ignatius, metropolitan of Tur Abdin, was killed for the following reason. He was concerned with collecting money by different means and was afflicted with the disease of the love of money, which is idolatry. He was not even ashamed when we (Michael Rabo) rebuked him to adhere to the canons, but continued to commit evil upon evil. He deserted the true hope in God and put his trust in the earthly sultan that he may collect money with the power of the king. Almighty God deserted him. On Sunday morning, he left the service and went to the sultan, as was his custom, to throw the monks, priests and laymen into prison for different charges. At night, he was met by Kurds and this wicked man fell into the hands of wicked men. Those with him fled but he was beaten and tortured harshly. Finally, they impaled him and left him at the last breath. Some men found him and when they pulled the stake out of his body, he breathed his last. Shortly before, a number of faithful men of the clan of Cyriacus in Hah (in Tur Abdin) were killed. They were Marzuq, his brother Barsoum and their children. A rumor was circulated that they were killed by the instigation of the tyrannical metropolitan (Ignatius). However, when he (Ignatius) himself was killed, the idea prevailed that he was killed by the instigation of those who sought revenge against him. Nevertheless, the whole thing was done by God's permission.

In the same year, God seemed to have deserted me (Michael Rabo) for my sins. The monks of the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum, rebelled against me because of the immense respect, affection and familiarity I had, which shall be correctly explained later.

Chapter Three: On the time when Salah al-Din (Saladin) departed Egypt and ruled Damascus, and his triumph over the lord of Mosul. In this time the Franks who were detained in Aleppo were released

In the year 1487 (A.D. 1176), Salah al-Din (Saladin), who was ruling Egypt, left it for Damascus with the pretext that the lord of Mosul (Sayf al-Din Ghazi II, nephew of Nur al-Din) captured Harran and Edessa from the son of Nur al-Din (Isma'il al-Malik al-Salih). Salah al-Din circulated the idea that he had come to rescue the son of his master (Nur al-Din). With this pretext, he controlled Damascus and its

environs. However, the young son of Nur al-Din, his mother and his guardians who were in Aleppo, were afraid of Saladin. Saladin sent messengers telling them that he was a slave (of Nur al-Din) and had only come to serve the young man and become his legal guardian and fight his enemies. However, they (the nobles) did not believe him and did not open the gates for him.²³³⁴ Saladin became very angry and captured Hama and Homs by force.²³³⁵ He brought from Egypt plenty of gold (money) and scattered it like dust. He also assembled a huge army, released from detention the prominent Frankish personalities who were imprisoned by Nur al-Din in Damascus at the beginning of his reign, sold them for cheap prices, and signed peace with the Franks. As to Sayf al-Din, lord of Mosul, he sent his forces to expel Saladin, believing they would easily overwhelm him. They mocked Saladin and branded him "a dog set to assail his master."²³³⁶ Saladin sent them a messenger to tell them kindly, "We are the sons of one house, and we should not be divided." They insulted the messenger, attacked him, and give him no chance to flee from their hands. However, God, who thrusts down the proud and the haughty, weakened them and, gripped by fear, the huge force turned back and fled. Saladin captured most of them and seized their arms, horses and camels. He also did another thing worth mentioning. When he saw them fleeing, he took off his helmet and cried out to his men saying, "Don't kill anyone, for they are our brothers." He released the captives after supplying them with money and horses and thus became more popular among the Muslims.²³³⁷

When those in Aleppo witnessed Saladin's victory, they were scared. They sent gifts to the lord of Antioch (Bohemond III, 1163-1201) to come and help them. The prison doors were opened and the prisoners were released and were sold in order to leave Aleppo. Of those sold were the kings who had been imprisoned for a long time and had lost hope (of freedom). They were Raymond IV, count of Tripoli, who was sold for eighty thousand (dinars), Joscelin II, son of Joscelin for fifty thousand (dinars) and Reginald of Châtillon for one hundred and twenty thousand (dinars). At several times a ransom was sent from Constantinople to have Reginald released, but he used it to free other captives instead. Then he was freed with the rest.²³³⁸

After the forces of Sayf al-Din, lord of Mosul, were defeated, he mustered double their original number (about twenty thousand men) and was joined by the lord of Mardin and Hisn Kipha, and the total number of both forces was sixty thousand against twelve thousand, the forces of Saladin. Saladin sent an envoy to warn Sayf al-Din (Ghazi) not to resort to war, saying, "If I am defeated, my defeat is of no significance because I am only a slave fleeing from his master. But if you are defeated, your defeat will be a disgrace because you are the son of a king." However, Sayf al-Din despised Saladin and insulted him. When the battle began, Sayf al-Din's commanders fled because Saladin had already bribed them generously. Sayf al-Din fled too, riding a camel, and barely escaped to Mosul in disgrace. He killed some of those who betrayed him and expelled the others.²³³⁹

Saladin marched against Mabug (Manbij and the Tayoye (Muslims) who were there handed it over to him. He seized its lord (Qutb al-Din ibn Yinal ibn Hassan), of amiable character who was formerly the lord of Edessa. He appropriated his possessions unjustly and imprisoned him for five months. Upon his release, he went to Mosul. The governors of Tell Bashir, 'Ayntab and other parts of Syria immediately came to Saladin and offered him allegiance.²³⁴⁰

²³³⁴ See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 1:607-608 and 616-617, and by the same author *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 176-177; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 2:7; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 303; The Anonymous Edessan, 207, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 732.

²³³⁵ Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Sana al-Barq al-Shami*, 180, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 737.

²³³⁶ The Syriac verb *sobaikh* used here could mean to assail or to crawl upon or cling to. See R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, ed. J. Payne Smith (Oxford At the University Press, 1903), 357-358. For this and more analysis see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 735-737 and the sources used.

²³³⁷ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 304; The Anonymous Edessan, 208, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 743.

²³³⁸ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 305.

²³³⁹ Al-Isfahani, *Sana al-Barq al-Shami*, 207, and The Anonymous Edessan, 208-209, with slight difference.

²³⁴⁰ Al-Isfahani, *Sana al-Barq al-Shami*, 207-209; Ibn Abi Yaiyy in Abu Sahma, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 1: 257; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 623; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 2:42-43; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 306, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 747.

Saladin then captured 'Azaz (in 1176) by war and marched against Aleppo. During the siege of 'Azaz, the Batinis (Assassins) made an attempt on his life. They wounded him by knife (in his head and neck), but he did not die. However, he killed his assailants and spoiled their country. He then marched against Aleppo, and its inhabitants appealed to the Franks for help. The Franks sent them Reginald (of Châtillon) who had been released from prison, and God gave him victory. He killed a number of Saladin's army. Then, the Franks entered the region of Damascus, killing, destroying and taking many captives. In addition, they sent forces to Egypt and plundered that country. When Saladin was greatly pressured by the Franks, he gave back 'Azaz to the lord of Aleppo (al-Malik al-Salih), and concluded peace with the leaders of Aleppo, and returned to Egypt.²³⁴¹

The reason that our monks thought of a futile rebellion is traced to the disturbance that took place in the church following the death of Patriarch Yuhanon (John) X bar Shushan (d. 1072). At the council, which met at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum to elect a patriarch, the monks demanded from the council to resolve that the (elected) patriarch should have no authority over the monastery in any shape or form. The monks resorted to this stratagem in order to avoid what had happened to some of the patriarchs, who being oppressed by rulers, became a burden to the monastery. At one time, they took from the monastery silver vessels, and at other times borrowed money from it and did not pay it back. However, when the monks received a document from the bishops of the council (that the patriarch would have no authority over the monastery), the patriarchs, who later followed each other, rejected it. They said that there was no letter of confirmation (of such document) of Patriarch Athanasius and Yuhanon who preceded him, and another Athanasius who preceded us (Michael Rabo). Consequently, what the bishops demanded was unlawful and the document demanded by the bishops was invalid, and conducive to discord. Also, it would have created dissention between every patriarch and the monks. As to me (Michael Rabo), because I was raised in the monastery, I wanted to help it, but the help turned into harm. When I endorsed the document and pressured the bishops to sign it, I believed that such a procedure would put an end to the controversy between the patriarchs and the monks of the monastery. However, the conflict increased and became in their crooked mouths like a bit (in a horse mouth). As a result, controversy was stirred up in the monastery, and the monks were split into two factions.

On the morning of New Sunday, April 11, 1487 (A.D. 1176), after the end of the Celebration of the Eucharist, an eclipse took place, darkness prevailed and the stars and the moon appeared. Near the sun was seen a depressing and tear compelling spectacle for those who watched it. Sheep, oxen and horses butted one another from the enormity of fear. Two hours later light reappeared. In the evening of Monday, April 15, an eclipse occurred in the same place in which the former had taken place. Glory to the omniscient (God).

In the spring of this year, rain was scarce and heat was severe. Crops and plants dried up, and several villages became desolate of people because of heat and thirst, especially in Jerusalem and entire Palestine, interior Syria, the region of Nisibin, and Tur Abdin. In Mosul, farmers harvested nothing, and people and animals had no water to drink. *End of narrative and the one above. He who reads it let him pray for me, I, the weak and sinner.*

Chapter Four: On the death of Najm al-Din, lord of Mardin; the war between Sultan Kilij Arslan and Manuel, king (emperor) of the Romans, and other events which took place during this period

On July 22, 1487 (A.D. 1176), Najm al-Din, lord of the Mardin, passed away after reigning for twenty-two years. Because of his meekness and kind-heartedness, the people of his country, especially the Christians and their churches, lived in prosperity. He was succeeded by his son Qutb al-Din (Ilghazi II). He antagonized his uncles, the lords of Hani and Dara, so much that by the intervention of the lords of Mosul and Hisn Kipha, they came to the Citadel of Mardin, prostrated and offered him allegiance as they did to his father, and peace was established between them. Afterwards, it was rumored that Qutb al-Din died, and his

²³⁴¹ For a thorough analysis of the above events, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 747-751 and the profuse footnotes he used.

country was almost ruined if it were not for the Lord who had mercy on him and healed him from his illness. He killed thousands of Arabs and seized twelve thousand of their camels, the rest fled and peace prevailed in the region.²³⁴²

In this time the king (emperor) of the Romans (Manuel I Comnenus 1143-1180), went hunting. He was attacked by a wild boar and was rumored to be dead. Kilij Arslan (II, Seljuk Sultan of Rum (1155-1192)), invaded the emperor's territory. The emperor was outraged because Kilij Arslan seemed ungrateful for the benefits he had bestowed on him, and even more so because he had invaded the regions of the Danishmend amirs who were on good terms with the emperor. The amirs fled to Constantinople seeking refuge with the emperor and urging him to fight Kilij Arslan. He assembled a huge army, which covered the face of the earth and marched against the sultan's Turkish territory. He put pressure on the Turks hoping that Kilij Arslan would agree to return the lands he had taken from the Danishmend and the lands he had taken from him. The sultan refused, and conflict resulted between the two (sovereigns). The emperor restored the building of two cities, which had been ruined for a long time, and stationed army contingents to oppress the Turks. He killed thousands of Turkomans and took others captive, but the Turkomans penetrated the unguarded Roman territories from the north and took about hundred thousand captives. They killed all the men and sold the women and the children to the merchants in countries as far away as Persia. The emperor was furious and chased the sultan, who was fleeing from one mountain to the other, and would not meet the emperor in battle. The emperor sent thirty thousand men with the amir Dhu al-Nun (the Danishmend) to rule over Neo-Caesarea. Because they were greatly distressed, the city inhabitants surrendered to Dhu al-Nun. They addressed a letter, as if it was from the mouth of a Christian, to the captain of the Greek (Roman) host saying, "This amir (Dhu al-Nun) who you are supporting is a crafty person and wants to deceive you. He is in collusion with the Turks, his own people who are determined to annihilate you." They shot the letter with an arrow into the Greek (Roman) camp, and the Greeks were scared and began to flee. The Turks inside the city emerged shouting, "King (Emperor) Manuel has died." They killed most of them, and the captain of their host killed the nephew of the emperor. Dhu al-Nun fled northward but the Greeks captured him and left it to the emperor to decide his fate. *Here ends this other narrative.*²³⁴³

When harm (conflict) began to happen in the Monastery (of Mor Barsoum), because of not seeking the counsel of venerable men, we (Michael Rabo), in conformity with the canons, devoted our attention to redress the harm. We treated the bishops and the solitaries with the rod (of discipline) and with the language of command, lest the wound should transform into a gangrenous sore. Then those who were immersed in the apostolic salt were motivated by divine zeal to bring back the rest to repentance. They sent the entire elder brothers and the inhabitants of the monastery to my lowliness at the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery). They begged us to accompany them to the monastery (of Mor Barsoum) to stop the schism. We went with them to Amid, whose governor went out to receive us with joy. On Sunday, December 4, which is the festival of the martyr Barbara, we consecrated by the power of the Holy Spirit the church we had built there. With great difficulty, we arrived at the monastery. After lengthy deliberation, we, the bishops and the lay people, became certain that the documents that were issued now and then in one form or another, were the cause of the dissension in the church, and in a short while, would have led the monastery to ruin. Thus, it was decided to abolish them. This was done by God's help. Reconciliation was accomplished. Peace and joy prevailed in the Holy Church and among the inhabitants of the monastery. All relished the fruits of this effort.

In this year, God with his compassion had the crisis of scarcity of rain pass. The water springs flowed and people and animals were saved from the thirst which consumed them. However, famine was still rife everywhere, because the crops did not yield until the year 1487 (A.D. 1176). Indeed, the wrath of Divine

²³⁴² Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 307.

²³⁴³ The Anonymous Edessan, 211; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 306 and William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, translated by Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 (Columbia University Press, 1943), 414, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 752-753.

Justice was still standing because of our iniquities. Thus, poor people everywhere withered. The price of a measure of wheat in Damascus, Aleppo and the wilderness of Maliha was three golden (dinars). Soon, wheat disappeared because Arab caravans came and loaded their camels with it. Thus, the red gold (dinars) in Syria were plentiful, and were worth their half price. Wheat was so dear that the measure of wheat in these countries was worth one dinar.

In this time, something like a half moon pointing eastward appeared in the western part of the sky. However, whenever it moved, its size became larger until it became three fold the size of the moon. It then moved to the middle of the sky and split into three segments, fell off and could no longer be seen. When the king (emperor) of the Greeks (Romans) was defeated, everyone knew that this spectacle symbolized him. *End of the narrative. Anyone who reads it let him pray for this sinner.*

Chapter Five: On the defeat of Manuel, king (emperor) of the Greeks by Sultan Kilij Arslan

When Manuel, king of the Greeks, heard that his nephew was killed at the gate of Neo-Caesarea, he rushed angrily to take revenge of the Turks. The Sultan (Kilij Arslan) commanded his forces not to start the fight but every one of the divisions should move to the front, the right, the left and the rear of the camp in order to burn down the villages and the food provisions of people and animals. In addition, they should contaminate the water canals, springs and cisterns with the corpses of dogs and donkeys. He also ordered those in the fortress to not only fight but also strictly guard the fortress if possible. However, if they felt that they were weakened, they could then burn down the entire region and depart. The sultan went up to a rugged mountain and moved from place to place, while Emperor (Manuel) penetrated, with determination, to the middle of lands of the Turks as far as five days journey. When the Turkomans saw that the emperor of the Greeks wanted to drive them out of their abodes, they assembled in five thousand and ten thousand groups and burned, destroyed and killed anyone they found outside the Greek camp. When the Greeks were one day's journey from Iconium, and three hour's journey from the place where the sultan was, they entered a narrow, waterless place. There were about five thousand of them with carriages loaded with provisions for people, fodder for animals, armaments, and wood for the engines of war, church's gold, crosses and other miscellaneous objects. When the Turkomans and their forces saw that they were far beyond the camp with their carriages loaded with provisions, five thousand of them who were in the rear of the camp began plundering it. The ranks of the king (emperor) soldiers were stricken by fear, especially when they learned that their provisions and possessions were pillaged. The Turks, noticing their fright, rolled down large rocks from the mountain's top crushing them and the animals. Their crowds rushed down to the ditch and were piled on top of each other, while their knees trembled from fear of the Turks. The arrows of the Turks reached them because the distance between them and the Turks was not too far.²³⁴⁴

In the middle of the night, the emperor sent an envoy asking for peace with the sultan. The sultan, who was also fearful, agreed immediately. The delegations shuttled back and forth all night between the two camps under the light of torches. The emperor gave the sultan the three cities, which he had built. In the morning, they announced peace, but the Turks were agitated and insulted the sultan, branding him an infidel for accepting peace. The emperor requested the sultan to have three of his men accompany him lest the Turks should assault him, but the Turks did not quiet down. When the Greek troops began to depart, the Turks assailed their camp from all directions killing a number of them. When the emperor asked the Turk amirs, why such a thing should happen after the agreement was reached (between him and the sultan), they said, "What has happened is by our order."²³⁴⁵ The emperor, then, placed ambushes for them and killed about twenty thousand of them (Turks).

Upon his arrival at Constantinople, Manuel sent plenty of gold to the sultan, and took a cross that contained a piece of the wood of the Cross of the Crucifixion.²³⁴⁶ The Sultan sent to all the amirs, to the

²³⁴⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 306.

²³⁴⁵ For the defeat of Manuel by Kilij Arslan see A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, II, 428-429 but does not mention some of the events as Michael Rabo does.

²³⁴⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 307.

caliph of Baghdad and the sultan of Khurasan: slave girls, arms, and the heads of the Greeks mounted on the tips of lances or attached to the tails of horses. The people paraded them down the streets dancing in front of them. With this evil result was the departure of the emperor of the Greeks. Who would not admit that by an indication from above (heaven), and by incomprehensible judgments, all these things happened on earth?

In this time Yuhanon (John), metropolitan of Homs, that venerable and saintly old man, could no more take charge of pastoral service and religious duties. Several times, he asked with good conscience to be relieved from his duties because of old age or other reasons, which permitted him to resign. The congregation beseeched and encouraged him not to abandon his flock which God, the chief shepherd, entrusted to him. However, the old man, who feared God, wept as he was pressured to stay, and postponed his resignation to the next year. This situation continued for ten years. Finally, not only I, (Michael Rabo) but also the present bishops, were embarrassed by his tears, and ordained the monk Dawud (David) from the Monastery of Mor Hananya, as bishop for Homs and called him Dionysius (at his ordination).

Chapter Six: On Sultan Kilij Arslan II, assuming dominion over Melitene; and the rest of events that took place here and there in this period

At the time the Sultan (Kilij Arslan II) made peace with the king (emperor) of the Greeks, he invaded Melitene. In Melitene at that time was a notorious amir from the Danishmend clan who had killed his brother. He and his brother were engaged in evil deeds. Most Christians abandoned the city because of famine that had spread everywhere, especially in Melitene. In addition to the famine, those who remained in the city suffered imprisonment, whipping and all kinds of hardships. They began to remember, not only what I (Michael Rabo) had said to them before, but also what others did. We felt compassion for them and wrote them saying, "Why did you shift to the left and abandon the good traditions of your fathers, and thus deserve the chiding of the Prophet who said, 'They mingled with the nations and adopted their customs.'"²³⁴⁷ When they saw that the blow had convulsed them, they were afraid and contracted. Their hearts opened up as the chastisement overwhelmed them as it is written, "The chastisement of the Lord opens my ear."²³⁴⁸ Then, they repented with tears, sorrow and contrition. The Lord hearkened unto them, and put fear in the amir's heart, and he said, "The Turks hate me, and because of the famine they will soon kill me and will surrender the city." He secretly sent an envoy to the Sultan (Kilij Arslan II) asking for safety, and then left for Hisn Ziyad. The sultan entered Melitene on Wednesday, October 25, 1489 (A.D. 1178), and ruled over it much to the joy of the inhabitants. The sultan's forces had besieged the city for four months without overwhelming it. The soldiers built abodes of unbaked bricks for the winter. They also built a house for the sultan with tombstones in the graveyard. Thus, God visited the hapless people of the city with abundant mercy in accordance with his ineffable dispensation.

Two years after his ordination as bishop for Homs, Metropolitan Dawud (David) departed this temporal life. The congregation of Homs appealed to us (to have a bishop), and I, (Michael Rabo) pressured the old man Yuhanon (John) to return to his service. In this time, Metropolitan Athanasius passed away and the solitary (monk) Abu Ghalib, was ordained a metropolitan for Jihan. He came from his Monastery of Abu Ghalib in the district of Gargar. In the same year, Yuhanon (John), bishop of Arsamosata, died in the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery). In Melitene, Ignatius Romanus, metropolitan of Tell Arsanius, died in the district of Gargar and was buried in the church of his fathers. In addition, our brother (sibling) Rabban (monk) Saliba was ordained a bishop, with the name of Athanasius, in the Monastery of Mor Hananya on Sunday, October 9.

In this period too, the Lord, because of our sins, chastised the earth with a scarcity of rain. Crops dried up and severe famine inflicted Syria, Palestine, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and Armenia, and the price of a measure of wheat was one dinar, if wheat was found. In Damascus and its environs, wheat and legumes could not at all be found, and many people perished from starvation. Some people moved to far

²³⁴⁷ Psalm 106:35.

²³⁴⁸ Cf. Job 36:10.

away countries, but the Christians never ceased praying and supplicating tearfully. Muslim kings who had wheat and grains, distributed them to the poor and the needy. In addition, Amaury, Patriarch of the Franks in Antioch, distributed wheat and grains generously. Finally, and after losing hope, the floodgates of heaven were opened in mid-spring and watered the earth, and the weather moderated. People rejoiced and raised their hearts and voices to heaven praising God, and were satisfied everywhere.

Chapter Seven: The departure of Salah al-Din (Saladin) from Egypt to Palestine, his defeat by the Franks, and the events that took place in this period

In Teshrin (October) of the year 1489 (A.D. 1178), Saladin left Egypt with thirty three thousand armored men in addition to the infantry and other soldiers, along with fifty-two thousand camels bearing provisions and arms. He entered Jerusalem consumed by blind zeal. He killed the first Frank he captured and splashed his garment with his blood as an act of purification.²³⁴⁹

At the time when everyone lost hope, God had compassion on the Christians. All people were distressed when the signs of leprosy appeared on the young King Baldwin IV and he began to be consumed by it.²³⁵⁰ However, God who manifests strength in weakness encouraged the sick king. He assembled a force, and went out to challenge the enemy. He dismounted from his horse and knelt before the Cross, supplicating with emotional words and tears. The soldiers with him were moved as they witnessed him. They placed their hands on the Cross and swore that they would fight and never retreat, and if they were defeated by the Turks, they would regard as an apostate anyone who might be tempted to flee battle. When the Turks, saw how few they were in number, they rejoiced thinking they could easily defeat them. On seeing the Turks who were as numerous as sands on the seashore, the Franks dismounted, cut their hair (in tonsure), exchanged greetings, wished another well, asked each other for the last prayer and engaged in battle. At that moment, a mighty windstorm blew from the Franks' side toward the Turks, filling their eyes with sand and causing them to wander in confusion. The Franks knew that the Lord had accepted their repentance. They rejoiced and gained strength while the Turks fled. The Franks fell upon them killing them all day long and plundering their camels and possessions, and the Turks were scattered. The Franks kept chasing them for five days until they found them in groups. They killed some of them who were breathing their last and gathered their arms and possessions, while others fled. Saladin and a few of his men barely escaped to Egypt.²³⁵¹ They wore black and mourned. The glad tidings arrived in Antioch while we (Michael Rabo) were there.²³⁵²

In this time the governor of the fortress of Harim (Sa'd al-Din Gümüshtigin) realized that the lord of Aleppo (al-Malik al-Salih) intended to arrest him and kill him. He rebelled and joined the Franks. The prince of Antioch (Bohemond III) swore that he would not evict him from the fortress but would help him and protect him. Therefore, Gümüshtigin offered the Franks allegiance and became an enemy of the Turks. However, the Franks committed a horrible iniquity by reneging on their oaths (to Gümüshtigin). They gathered in a large number from Jerusalem and the coastal areas. They were joined by the lord of Cilicia (Roupen), and Philip, count of Flanders and laid siege to the Harim fortress (near Antioch) for four months. They fought by every means and imposed heavy taxes on the city and the entire region. They committed great atrocities, and many people perished. Still, the good God did not grant them victory because they had sworn by the Cross and the Gospel (to help Gümüshtigin). They thought that victory could be achieved by human power. The Turks inside the fortress sent a message to the lord of Aleppo (al-Malik al-Salih), and received from him a pledge and handed the fortress over to him. He paid the prince (Bohemond III of

²³⁴⁹ See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 762. Apparently, mentioning Ascalon instead of Jerusalem is a typo. For the correct name of Jerusalem, see p. 845. Michael Rabo is the only historian who mentions this incident. Since he was living in that period, he must have received his information from an eyewitness.

²³⁵⁰ William of Tyre, *History*, 1:2, and 2:398 ff., devotes an entire chapter to Baldwin the Leper; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 308, and The Anonymous Edessan, 217.

²³⁵¹ This battle occurred on November 25, 1177. See Reinhold Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 1100-1291 (Innsbruck, 1898), 377.

²³⁵² The Anonymous Edessan, 217-218; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 307-308, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 762-764.

Antioch) twenty thousand dinars and the prince returned to Antioch with a broken heart. This was the result.²³⁵³

In this period, a great number of the sons of Arabia departed due to famine and arrived at the banks of the Euphrates. The amirs would not let them cross the river saying that the famine was caused because of them. Nevertheless, they crossed the River Euphrates, but were confronted by the Turks who killed about a hundred thousand of them. The rest tried to cross to the other side of the river, but as they reached mid-river with the women, children and camels, the waters of the river raged and swept them, and they died and floated over the water like straw.

In May of the year 1489 (A.D. 1178), while we (Michael Rabo) were in Antioch, heavy rain fell and the waters swept the inner part of the city, the houses, the animals, and many people drowned. The flood reached the gates of the city and was so powerful that the gates could not dispose of it. The waters were raised higher than the wall, a great commotion took place in the city and people were stricken by fear.

In the following year, while we were still in Antioch, the winter was like a spring. In May, fire broke out in the city and destroyed a number of houses near the Great Church of St. Peter. God, however, protected the people and they were not harmed.

In this same year, while we were still in Antioch, the pope of Rome sent a delegation to the Frankish patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, summoning them because of the heresy that appeared there. Their (Latin) patriarch of Antioch sent to us a bishop and two priests of Tarsus, asking us to accompany him (to Rome) for the same reason. When we investigated the subject, we learned that some Franks, who had compassion on the needy, were caused by Satan to fall into the heresy, which maintained that the elements of the bread and the wine in the (Eucharist) could not turn into the real Body and Blood of God (consubstantiation). They also maintained that there is no virtue except compassion, helping the needy, love of people and concord with each other. Their number was raised into thousands and myriads, and they had bishops of their own. They were joined by many counts and the lords of some regions. However, the most abominable thing they introduced into their brotherhood was the practice of the communal use of women. When their repulsive practice was exposed, and in order to decimate it, Apostolos (the pope) of Rome assembled an ecumenical council. As for us, we were unable to travel to that far-away country. However, we expounded to them how and when Satan created this heresy and how our fathers condemned it. *End of the narrative.*²³⁵⁴

In this time, we, (Michael Rabo) by the Grace of God, set up Athanasius as bishop in Mardin and departed to Antioch. In Antioch, Dionysius was ordained as bishop for Aleppo.

In this time, the monks of our Monastery (of Mor Barsoum) were slandered to the sultan of Melitene that they had supported the former amir, and that he exempted them from taxes. The sultan imposed on them the payment of five hundred dinars annually as a tribute. He warned them not to contact the former amir whom he had expelled. He also drove out all the Turks who served the Danishmends.

A conflict stirred up between my weakness (Michael Rabo) and Maphryono (John) concerning the Hasisone (Hassasin) in the district of Takrit who had seceded from the church since the time of Patriarch Cyriacus, because of the phrase of "the heavenly bread." Now they wanted to return to the church's fold. They asked me to ordain for them a bishop, and I said, "Let the maphryono ordain a bishop for you in his capacity as the chief priest of Takrit. It is not proper that you become separate from our brothers who are there." Nevertheless, they resented what we said and considered it an insult. Then, they asked to have a bishop ordained for them and they would still keep their submission to the maphryono. We said to them, "Be patient until we have obtained the consent of our brothers to avoid suspicion." We sent back the Hasisone with this condition and, accordingly, addressed a brotherly letter to the maphryono. When he heard that the Hasisone had come to us, he thought that he had lost his dignity. He proclaimed in his entire

²³⁵³ The Anonymous Edessan, 218-219, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 759-762. On Philip of Flanders at the siege of Harim, see William of Newberg, *Historia Rerum Anglicorum*, ed. by Richard Howlett as *Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, and Richard 1*. Vol. 1 (London, 1884. repr., Wiesbaden Kraus, 1964), 242. Cf. Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 1100-1291, 375.

²³⁵⁴ For more explanation of this subject, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 677.

diocese the condemnation of the Hasisone and everyone who followed them. Upon hearing this, we were greatly astonished. Using patience, we sent him venerable monks as envoys, and addressed to him a letter informing him with affection how much trouble and pain the holy fathers Cyriacus and Dionysius suffered, what the Council of Chalcedon had resolved, and whether, in the case of the Hasisone's admission to the church, they were allowed to iterate the phrase (we brake the heavenly bread). Nevertheless, the maphryono, displaying rebellion, did not receive the envoys. After their departure, some wise and God-fearing men rebuked him, and he repented and came to us. I refused to meet him and said, "This matter should be investigated by a council." The maphryono returned to his diocese and sent us messengers to intercede with us. We assembled a council at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, which was attended by the maphryono and his bishops. We explained to him how much he had transgressed the canons. He asked for forgiveness and promised obedience according to the canons. We prayed for him and peace prevailed.

Chapter Eight: Our pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the third time; and other events

In October, the Franks assembled with King Baldwin (IV) at the place called Jacob's Ford on the Jordan River to build a city in order to put pressure on Damascus.

Saladin came out of Egypt and went to Damascus to subdue the rebellious lord of Ba'lbak, which is Heliopolis, or, city of the Sun. He pitched his camp in front of the city and tightened his grip against it in many ways. Many times the amir of the city sent gifts with pledges to the Franks to submit to them, but received no help from them, and lost hope. He was frustrated and forced to make contact with the one who was attacking his city (Saladin). He received a pledge from him and surrendered the city to him. Encouraged, Saladin marched to Jerusalem but the Franks confronted him, and he fled to Damascus. The Franks spoiled the country and then returned about one day's journey. As they camped, Saladin fell upon them suddenly and captured a hundred of their men, among whom was the master of the Frères (Eudes, or Odo of Saint-Amand, Grand Master of the Templars). The Christians were sorely grieved.²³⁵⁵ Being encouraged, Saladin returned swiftly to the place where the Franks had built a fortress and fortified it. Inside, were five hundred Frères (Templars) who jumped into the fire lest they fall into the hands of the Tayoye (Muslims). Others plunged into the Jordan and drowned. Still others jumped off the wall, hit the rocks and died. Those who fell into the hands of the Tayoye (Muslims) were slaughtered by the sword (on August 13, 1179).²³⁵⁶

In October of the year 1490 (A.D. 1179), we (Michael Rabo) departed Antioch and met in Akka (Acre) the young King Baldwin (IV). He welcomed us and we showed him his father's covenant with us. He added by providing us with a letter and a pledge. We arrived in Jerusalem, and there we met the messengers of Mark, patriarch of Alexandria, whom he delegated to us. They informed us about the schism that took place in this time in the ranks of our brothers the Copts, caused by the blind man Mark Bar Qanbar. Bar Qanbar was a highly learned man but vain and conceited on account of his knowledge. Because he was praised greatly by insignificant persons, he became vainglorious and believed that he was something magnificent. He began to teach errors and deceive his hearers who were attracted by his teaching, as the Apostle Paul said, "And no wonder, for Satan himself masquerades as an angel of light. It is not surprising, then, if his servants masquerade as servants of righteousness."²³⁵⁷

He (Bar Qanbar) criticized the Egyptian for neglecting the confession of sins. At one time, the patriarch forbade him to preach in our domain. However, because he gained followers, he rebelled against the patriarch. He said that we were commanded to instruct the believers to confess their sins as dictated by the apostolic canons as he himself did. Then, a delegation came to us carrying letters from the (Coptic) patriarch. Meantime, a delegation carrying letters from Bar Qanbar came to us too. From his letters we ascertained that his teaching was false and adulterated like honey mixed with wormwood. In addition, he had fallen into the heresy of the corrupt Messalians and Lampetius who taught that, "The body (of Christ)

²³⁵⁵ Cf. Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 1100-1291, 385. For an elaboration of these events see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 765-766 and the different sources quoted.

²³⁵⁶ Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 768-769 and the sources used.

²³⁵⁷ 2 Corinthians 11:14-15.

does not seem to be corporeal. And anyone who confesses his sins will transcend suffering and his body becomes like the body of Christ, and then he partakes in the body and blood of Christ.” Based on this opinion, Lampetius maintained that in Christ there are two natures, two wills and two operations. When we smelled such a stench from the letters of Bar Qanbar, we addressed to him a lengthy discourse of reproach supported by testimonies from the Scriptures. We explained to him that although the confession of sins is commendable, it is not compatible with his ugly point of view. Therefore, we circulated a proclamation to the bishops and the people condemning Bar Qanbar, as Patriarch Mark has also condemned him. Meantime, we addressed a letter to the patriarch telling him that he should not be concerned about the confession (of sins) because of the error of Bar Qanbar. Finally, Bar Qanbar joined the Chalcedonians (Malkites) and continued his evil deeds.²³⁵⁸

This Book ended in a cycle of five years and in eight chapters. He who reads let him pray for the sinner.

²³⁵⁸ For more on Mark Bar Qanbar and his writings, see Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 2 (Vatican City, 1947), 327-332. Graf presents Bar Qanbar's idea concerning confession of sins, not as an error but a reformation. Bar Qanbar died on February 18, 1208.

BOOK TWENTY-ONE

IT BEGINS WITH THE YEAR 1491 OF THE GREEKS WHICH IS THE YEAR 1181 OF THE NATIVITY OF OUR LORD, AND THE YEAR 558 OF THE TAYOYE (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 119 OF THE TURKS, AND THE YEAR 6660 OF ADAM AND THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION

Chapter One: On the death of Manuel, king (emperor) of the Greeks; Bar Wahbun's attempt to transgress the canons and his fall like the fall of lightning from heaven

In the year 1491 (A.D. 1180), Manuel, king of the Greeks fell sick. When he felt that he was going to die, he became a monk. He set aside the crown for his twelve-year-old son, Alexius, and proclaimed him a king (emperor) (Alexius II Comnenus 1180-1183). He made his wife, Alexius' mother (Mary of Antioch), a nun and entrusted to her the treasures of the kingdom. He also appointed twelve nobles to govern the army. Manuel administered the kingdom with success for thirty-seven years. After his death, things went badly as the mother of the young man who was reigning committed fornication with one of the twelve nobles. Though the rest of the nobles wanted to oust her and her son, set up the daughter of Manuel who was born of his first wife, and proclaim her husband an emperor, they did not succeed because their plan was discovered and they fled to the great church. Because of them, there was fighting and bloodshed in the city for seven days. They set up mangonels (engines of war) against the Hagia Sophia. Finally, someone acted as a mediator between the two sides, and Patriarch Theodosius guaranteed (the safety) of those who fled to the church for refuge. However, when they came out and went to the royal palace, the king (emperor), his mother and their supporters, reneged on their oath and on the guarantee of the patriarch. They seized the twelve wretched nobles and put out their eyes, and bloodshed increased. The patriarch excommunicated the whole city and forbade the ringing of bells and prayers in the churches and monasteries from the beginning of February to November. They could not even bury their dead. The patriarch left the city and retreated to a monastery outside it.²³⁵⁹

In this year 1491 (A.D. 1180), Sultan Kilij Arslan dispatched an army against Ra'ban. Its lord, who was under the hegemony of the Egyptian Saladin, went out and brought an army from Damascus. When the men of Cappadocia saw this, they fled and did not engage in battle. Though both sides were Turks, those who came from the region of Aleppo were more experienced in warfare, which they had learned from the Franks, so the Cappadocians fled before them.²³⁶⁰

In this time, Yeshu the scribe of Tur Abdin was ordained a bishop for Hisn Ziyad. From the beginning, he transgressed the canons and abandoned the diocese for which he was ordained in order to occupy the See of Tur Abdin. He contacted the governor, Sa'd al-Din, who wrote to us to transfer Iyawannis Ishaq, bishop of Tur Abdin, to Hisn Ziyad, and offer Tur Abdin to Yeshu the scribe. I (Michael Rabo) answered that, "According to our (church) canons, we are not authorized to transfer a bishop from one place (diocese) to another by the order of a governor. I absolutely cannot do this." Meanwhile, I excommunicated Yeshu.

In this same year, we returned from Antioch to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, where we laid down the foundation for the building of a church in it. However, we were challenged by Satan who impeded the work. He found a client called Theodore bar Wahbun, who devoted thirteen years to obstruct our work. Therefore, it is necessary to write what he did at length.²³⁶¹

Since it has been our duty, as we face God the examiner of hearts, to tell the truth in this book, we shall not record in this context except the truth, and shall not interpolate any falsehood into it. Indeed, our brothers the bishops, monks and presbyters, testify to the truth that whatever we write down is the truth

²³⁵⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 309 who wrote down these events in a better consecutive order.

²³⁶⁰ Imad al-Din al-Isfahan, *Sana al-Barq al-Shami*, 344-345; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 639-640; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 397, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 770.

²³⁶¹ On Theodore of Bar Wahbun, see The Anonymous Edessan, 350-352, 356 and 366, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 695-696.

free from falsification. However, we shall not relate all the evil deeds of those who opposed us, but shall confine ourselves to what is important and explain how their satanic work began and ended.

Five lovers of evil connived to tear up the church of God. They were first, Simon, bishop of Arzen, whose ambition was to transfer to Miyafarqat. However, when we rejected his unlawful request, he was filled with hatred and wrath against us. Then was Yeshu, the scribe, who was ordained a bishop for Hisn Ziyad, and interceded with the governor to be transferred to Tur Abdin. When he was excommunicated according to the canons, he acted secretly in collusion with Simon. Both went to Abraham, bishop of Amid, who was deposed because of his transgressions. These three men incited the bishop of Sebaberk, who had been deposed for his transgression of the canons by receiving a bribe for performing an ordination. Acting in collusion, they seemed to have forgotten the pledges and the anathemas each one of them put down with his own hand when they were ordained. They alleged that they would be divested of the priesthood and become suspended from performing any ordination if they dared turn against us. If they dared to do so, the ordination they performed would be invalidated by the Holy Spirit. In fact, they coalesced with each other because God gave them over to a depraved mind.²³⁶² They were joined by the one who was the vessel of wrath and Satan incarnate. He was the head of the gang, the second Belial (Bar Wahbun), who, from the outset, many realized that he was possessed by legion demons.²³⁶³

When Bar Wahbun was driven from Melitene where he came from, he was also exposed and rejected in Edessa. He was also exposed in Jerusalem, and fled the city. Such was his case wherever he went. After wandering around for a long time, he finally came to my lowliness (Michael Rabo). Here I should admit that I did not consider his case seriously. I thought it was possible to reform him and have him saved because he was learned and well versed in books. I desired well for him, as God knows who examines the hearts. I kept him in my cell (the patriarchal residence) for seven years during which I offered him sincere advice and endured his shortcomings. However, he went beyond his boundaries and resorted to trickery and deception. Like Absalom he sat in front of my cell to trap who he could deceive and instill hatred in him.²³⁶⁴ In this manner, he was able to catch these four men and promised to give each of them two dioceses if they made him a patriarch. However, I was not the only one who suspected his behavior. Many others suspected his demonic behavior, which created malicious controversies, and I expelled him from the patriarchal residence. In any event, he succeeded in influencing these deceived men who pledged to offer gold to the governor of Amid (Abu al-Qasim ibn Nisan) if he helped them set up a patriarch in his own city. The patriarch would then gather people from every quarter and pay money to the governor. However, the governor was not only ready to violate the canons and rules of the Christian churches for money, but also those of Islam. Therefore, Abu al-Qasim ibn Nisan, or rather Satan, provided them with an invitation to Bar Wahbun. When Abraham, bishop of Amid, proceeded to deliver the invitation, he took off his sacerdotal vestment, put on Turkish attire and mounted a horse like a soldier in order not to be detected. Truthfully, such a stratagem was an indication of the deprivation of their positions (as priests). No sooner had Abraham proceeded to Bar Wahbun, than God's wrath was extended to the governor of Amid who died suddenly.

When these four men, not relying on God, offered money to the governor, they went to see his son (Jamal al-Din Mas'ud). They informed him of his father's invitation (to Bar Wahbun) and offered him more money. He allowed them to do what they wished. Their news spread throughout Amid causing its sons and the sons of the entire region to be filled with zeal. The priests, monks, and all the people gathered and clamored saying to the governor, "We will never permit our faith to be destroyed." He replied, "If your patriarch visits us, we will expel Bar Wahbun." They promised to have the patriarch meet with him. Then, he ordered those (bishops) not to ordain Bar Wahbun (a patriarch) until he was sure of my (Michael Rabo) meeting with him.

However, when I left the Monastery of Mor Barsoum accompanied by priests, monks and noble laymen, those wicked men multiplied their evil deeds. They entered the church, locked the doors and

²³⁶² Romans 1:28.

²³⁶³ This is an allusion to Mark 5:9.

²³⁶⁴ See 2 Samuel 15:1-4.

ordained at night the wicked Theodore (Bar Wahbun) as patriarch. In the morning, they disguised themselves in different clothing and left the city for Mosul to meet with the Maphryono (Yuhanon).

When I heard of what happened, I felt that my sins were the cause. I was grieved over this calamity that had afflicted the church of God like none other for generations. Therefore, I decided to abandon the holy position (the patriarchate) of which I was unworthy. When those present learned of my decision, they said to me with tearful eyes, "If you go along with your decision, God will take revenge of you for the blood of the people who will lose their faith." Truthfully, fear entered my heart and my lips quivered. I found myself pressed between the two sides. I stepped on myself, constrained my will and accompanied them to Amid hoping to fulfill my resolution during the assembling of the council. The governor of Amid rejoiced and made promises of affection. All the people and those from other regions were filled with consolation. Priests, monks and lay people from every quarter joined us and all of us went to the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery).

As for those wicked men, they went to Mosul unsure of whether they could receive the maphryono's approval, despite their counting on the conflict which happened a while ago between him and me. When they realized that the maphryono rejected them and proceeded to meet with us accompanied by the bishops under his jurisdiction and the entire people of the east, they began to wander from one place to another with great bewilderment. When they reached the city of Dara, the faithful nobles offered them advice and informed us of their whereabouts while we were at the Monastery of Mor Hananya. Then, the maphryono and some bishops and monks went forth and brought them bound in fetters. They confessed before the council their foolishness and put down in writing the condemnation of their satanic action.

When we proceeded to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum where the general council was to meet and decide what the people and the Holy Spirit wanted, Satan entered into Theodore bar Wahbun a second time on the way, and he renounced the faith and trampled upon the oaths and the anathemas which he had written down against himself. As was his custom, he resorted to trickery and promised gold (money) to some willful men who brought a band of Kurds who came to where we were staying, and took him at night into hiding until we departed. When the bishops and the maphryono learned of this, they were furious against me (Michael Rabo) saying, "Why didn't you let us detain him?" Then, every one of them went in different directions looking for him. They found him hiding and seized him. We went to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum where a number of bishops and numerous people assembled. With one voice, they demanded that Bar Wahbun should be unfrocked. This is what happened, and the rest of the problems were resolved.

Each of the bishops returned to his diocese carrying the council's resolution of deposing the willful Bar Wahbun, which was unanimously taken according to the will of God and the church. Bar Wahbun, however, remained with us in the monastery. He repented and asked for forgiveness. According to the teachings of the Gospel, I accepted him and clothed him with the monastic habit in the hope of repentance. I provided him with his needs and gave him a cell for his living. I said that, "If he remained constant in his repentance and eschewed deception and trickery, I would ask the council which deposed him to look into his case, when it assembles, with mercy in as much the canons allow." For this stipulation, I left him in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, and I returned to the Monastery of Mor Hananya. As usual, he reneged on his promise and followed those of his kind.

At night, he cunningly made ropes, climbed down the wall of the monastery and fled to Damascus with his friends. He wrote a book in Arabic and became close to Saladin, king of Egypt. He promised to give him money if he would provide him with a letter to be accepted as a patriarch in the countries under his jurisdiction. He also slandered me to Saladin to have him kill me. When his letter was read to the King (Saladin), he asked whom he was. Some faithful men who were in the service of Saladin informed him about him and he expelled the wicked Bar Wahbun. Then, Bar Wahbun went to Jerusalem and stirred up trouble among the Franks, against the few of our brothers in the city, especially, against the venerable Mor Athanasius, bishop of Jerusalem, who had offered a thousand dinars to the patriarch of the Franks in order to return the Monastery of Mary of Magdalene in Jerusalem to us.

In fact, our church suffered a great deal sending a delegation because of this monastery. The trouble protracted because the Tayoye (Muslims') occupation of Jerusalem.²³⁶⁵ The wicked Bar Wahbun, then, went to the east having heard that the Maphryono Mor Yuhanon passed away, and planted his tares in Mosul and Mardin. He promised the Turkish governors to give them money, which encouraged them to demand the payment of money in every diocese. Our brothers and we in the east were engaged in a continuous struggle until his filthy actions were exposed.

He (Bar Wahbun) fled the east as he had fled Palestine and went to the Armenian Catholicos (Gregory IV, 1173-1193), in the Citadel of Romaitha. As was his evil and despicable custom, he promised to bring the people (Syrians) under the catholicos' authority if he extended help to him. In fact, he did the same with the patriarch of the Franks in Jerusalem who was deceived by him and extended help to him until he perished. Thus, the Armenian catholicos was deceived by him and opposed my lowliness with all his power and in every means.

Indeed, the (catholicos) never left a stone unturned. He squandered abundant money in the form of gifts to the Turkish governors in Syria and Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). He even determined to have me condemned (deposed) and set up Bar Wahbun as patriarch over this poor small group of Jacobites (Syrian Orthodox) for nothing save to submit to the catholicos as he promised. Yet, despite all the efforts he extended in the region under the rule of the Turks, God did not have him succeed. The catholicos, accompanied by Bar Wahbun, left the Citadel of Romaitha and went to Leon the Armenian, lord of Cilicia. Having influenced Leon, Leon issued an order handed to the catholicos that Bar Wahbun should be proclaimed a patriarch in his domain. Bar Wahbun went out roaming around that country (Cilicia). He usurped the possessions of any monk, priest or bishop who refused to accept him as a patriarch and drove him out of the church. Indeed, the chief priests, priests, and monks in those regions suffered no less torment and persecution than the Christians had from the heathens. Space does not allow me, I, the sinner, to write down everything about the subject.

For the second time, I assembled a general council and demanded to be relieved from my service. I believed that God had left that wicked (Bar Wahbun) free to revile the church of God because of my sins. The bishops did not agree but decided to go and debate with the tyrannical catholicos and to meet with Leon. When I saw that they were insisting that I should not step down from the patriarchate, I said to them, "Brothers! Let us not rely on our strength, or the strength of sultans and rulers. For it is written 'Cursed is the one who trusts in man, who depends on flesh for his strength and whose heart turns away from the Lord.'²³⁶⁶ Let us take refuge in God and his saint Mor Barsoum, and what God wants to do with us, will be done." All of them appreciated what I said. We, and the entire crowd which came for the festival of Mor Barsoum, began to pray and supplicate with tears, sorrow, contrition and sighs. When we began to raise the right hand of Mor Barsoum in state and extoll it, we cried out in one voice, "Lord Jesus Christ have mercy on your church by the prayer of St. Barsoum. Manifest your power in the one who is the cause of this strife. If we are the cause, annihilate us from existence; and if it is another person, do the same to him." On that day in which the supplication ended in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, the catholicos of the Armenians (Gregory IV) fell off his horse in Cilicia and broke his toe. They cut it off, but a few days later, his body was swollen. When he realized that his end was near, he confessed his foolishness and died. After him also died the twelve Armenian bishops who connived with Bar Wahbun. Each one of them was afflicted with a different blow and died. Moreover, the seven Syrian monks who followed Bar Wahbun were burned down by lightning. Forty days later, Theodore bar Wahbun was struck dead by the wrath of God.²³⁶⁷

²³⁶⁵ On the Syrian Monastery of Mary Magdalene, see Rev. Yuhanon Dolabani, "Al-Suryan fi Filistina aw Dayr Maryam al-Majdaliyya," (The Syrians in Palestine or the Monastery of Mary Magdalene) *al-Hikma*, 9 (June, 1928): 434-443, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 698.

²³⁶⁶ Jeremiah 17:5.

²³⁶⁷ For a greater part of the account of Bar Wahbun, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 695-698.

These events were a great lesson to everyone, especially to the people of those regions. Even Leon himself was stricken with fear. He addressed letters and sent messengers and gifts to my lowliness and to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum; peace prevailed in the church of God everywhere.

Brothers! I (Michael Rabo) did not write down these events because I relied on my righteousness. Never! I confess that because of my sins a blow of wrath tormented me for thirteen years. God is the one who accomplished this salvation in the name of Saint Barsoum as an act of mercy for his church and his Orthodox people who are small in number. To him be the glory forever and ever. Amen. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Two: On the sudden death of the Turkish rulers of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia); on the coming of the sultan to Melitene and summoning me (Michael Rabo) to meet with him; and the deplorable incident of the burning down of the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum that took place in this period; may his prayer be with us

In the year 1492 (A.D. 1181), conflict was stirred up between Kilij Arslan (II of the Seljuks of Rum, 1155-1192) and his son-in-law Nur al-Din (Artukid lord of Hisn Kipha) because he abandoned the sultan's daughter and fell in passionate love with a whore.²³⁶⁸ Nur al-Din appealed to Saladin for help, and Saladin went forth from Egypt to fight the sultan. The sultan ordered the walls of Kesum destroyed and evicted its inhabitants. Nur al-Din made an alliance with Saladin at the Sanja River (Turkish Gök-Su). If it were not for God's mercy and the mediation of the wise man Hasan, whom the sultan delegated to negotiate peace with Saladin, war would have taken place instead of peace. The sultan went to Melitene and rebuilt the two walls, while Saladin returned to Egypt.²³⁶⁹

In this year the prince (lord) of Antioch (Bohemond III), divorced his Greek wife (Theodora, niece of Manuel) whom he had married lawfully in Constantinople in the time of King (Emperor) Manuel and married a whore (Sybil).²³⁷⁰ He trampled upon the canons imposed on him by the patriarch of Rome. The patriarch of Constantinople (more correctly, Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem) excommunicated him and the priest who had blessed his wedding with the whore, and excommunicated the whole city. He stopped the ringing of bells, the celebration of the Eucharist and the burial of the dead. However, the prince transgressed the canons even more by looting all the churches and the monasteries. Then, the Counts and the patriarch of Jerusalem assembled, and by their mediation, he gave back everything he had usurped. His marriage to the woman (whore) was made lawful and reconciliation was achieved.²³⁷¹

In this year, the amir who ruled Harran and Edessa rebelled against the lord of Mosul and joined Saladin. He was the cause that Saladin controlled Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). In addition, Nur al-Din joined Saladin. The governors of Mosul, Mardin, Amid and Armenia (Shah Armen, Nasir al-Din Sukman II, ibn Abraham, lord of Khilat) gathered to challenge the Egyptian (Saladin), but they feared him and were scattered without fighting him. Then, the king of Egypt (Saladin) marched against Mosul and besieged it but abandoned it because of heavy rain or for some other reason and retreated.²³⁷² As to the governors of Mardin and Sinjar, they submitted to the Egyptian sultan. Then, (Saladin) besieged Amid and promised Nur al-Din to give it to him. On Palm Sunday, he began to attack it ferociously. Within a few days, he captured the wall, and the wretched Ibn Nisan (Mu'ayyid al-Din Abu Ali Ibn Nisan) surrendered the city and left it discomfited. Nur al-Din, lord of Hisn Kipha, ruled over the city in the year 1493 (A D. 1182).²³⁷³

²³⁶⁸ According to Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Sana al-Barq*, 346, and Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 639-640, she was a songstress.

²³⁶⁹ There is much more to this episode than what Michael Rabo says. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 310, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 770-771, and the Arabic sources used.

²³⁷⁰ William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 452-453, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 859.

²³⁷¹ See Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 1100-1291 (Innsbruck, 1898), 392-393. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 311, is the only Syriac writer to mention this story which contradicts the account of William of Tyre. See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 671-672 and 860-861 and the sources used.

²³⁷² For a fuller account of this event, see Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 656-657; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 2: 118-119; Imad al-Din al-Isfahani in Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 2: 32-33, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 780-781.

²³⁷³ Michael Rabo does not give a full account of Saladin's operations in the East, especially his attack against Mosul and his failure to capture it, his capturing of Dara and Harran as the Arabic and Syriac sources do. See al-Isfahani in Abu Shama, *Kitab al-*

In 1495 (A.D. 1184), Qutb al-Din (Ilghazi), governor of Mardin, passed away. His uncle Shah Armen came and made his child-son a ruler in his place.

In 1493 (A.D. 1182), Salih, governor of Aleppo, died. He had given Aleppo to Izz al-Din, governor of Mosul, who ruled it after his brother Sayf al-Din. In turn, Sayf al-Din gave it to his brother in exchange for Sinjar for the intention of keeping him away from him.

In the year 1494 (A.D. 1183), Andronicus I, who was expelled by Manuel, ruled over the Greeks.²³⁷⁴ He managed to enter Constantinople by a trick pretending submission to the young King (Emperor Alexius II). However, he resorted to the sword in the city, cast Manuel's daughter and her husband into the sea, and eliminated the young Alexius II. He killed more than a thousand nobles and burned them by fire. He gouged the eyes of many others and spoiled their possessions. That dirty old man (Andronicus) married the widow (Agnes, daughter of King Louis VII) of young Alexius II. Indeed, he committed innumerable abominations. He expelled the Franks from the city (Constantinople) who helped young Alexius, because he was the son of a Frankish woman (Marie of Antioch). When the Franks were expelled from their houses, they went forth and set to fire fourteen thousand monasteries and villages in the Greek domains. They went to Rome, and along with them marched the Franks' army. Meantime, the king of Sicily (William II) destroyed and burned completely many cities of Syria subject to the Greeks and left them desolate.²³⁷⁵

In the year 1492 (A.D. 1181), Sultan Kilij Arslan (II) came to Melitene and inquired about my (Michael Rabo) lowliness. He sent me a friendly letter, together with a patriarchal staff and twenty red (gold) dinars, which caused much astonishment. The next year Kilij Arslan came again to Melitene. Before he entered the city, he heard of the trouble Theodore bar Wahbun had caused, and sent a letter inviting my lowliness to see him in Melitene. When I arrived at the city, I was uncertain, but felt that something unusual was happening. On the next day of my arrival, three amirs and a host of horsemen came to accompany me with honor to meet the sultan. Truthfully, I was immensely astonished and thought that this was honey mixed with wormwood.

On the morning of Thursday, July 8, 1493 (A.D. 1182), we entered Melitene. The sultan, his army, and the townsmen came out to welcome us. He sent a messenger to tell us that the sultan ordered the patriarch (Michael Rabo) to come and see him in accordance with the traditions and rules of the Christians. The Christians, with torches lit and crosses fixed on their spears, raised their voices chanting. The sultan approached me and asked me not to dismount or shake his hand, but embraced my lowliness with his arms. I began to talk to him through an interpreter, and he was very attentive. When I realized that he was anxious to listen, I began to talk freely supporting my points with testimonies from the Scriptures and from nature, interspersed with exhortations. His eyes were filled with tears, and I thanked God. Overjoyed, the Christians raised a cry of thanks and praise when they saw the adored Cross hoisted over the heads of the sultan and the Muslims. In this manner, we entered the church. At the end of the sermon, we blessed the sultan and the people.

At the end of that day, the sultan sent the glad tidings that he had abolished the taxes imposed on the Monastery of Mor Barsoum and confirmed his order with a royal rescript.²³⁷⁶ On Sunday, he sent us a hand gilded with gold and inlaid with jewels. In it were deposited the bones of St. Peter, head of the Apostles. We remained in Melitene for a month, and every day the sultan sent us gifts. We exchanged questions and answers about Christ our God, the Prophets, the Apostles, and other matters. When he departed Melitene, the sultan invited me to accompany him. On the way, we, by order of the sultan, engaged

Rawdatayn, 2: 31-33; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 313; The Anonymous Edessan, 224; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 2: 118-124; Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wa al-Mahasin al-Yusufiyya* in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, 3 (Paris, 1884, reprinted Israel, 1868), 70. There is also a translation of the same by D. S. Richards, (Ashgate 2001), Steve Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 2: 434, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 781-784.

²³⁷⁴ Andronicus I Comnenus, 1182-1185.

²³⁷⁵ Western sources give a different account of William II in this context. As to Alexius, he fled to Sicily asking William to restore him to the throne. For a full account of these events, and the many Western and Arabic sources, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 936-938.

²³⁷⁶ See The Anonymous Edessan, 216.

in a lengthy conversation with Kamal al-Din, a Persian philosopher in the company of the sultan, and the sultan was listening to our conversation. As usual, we presented more testimonies from the Scriptures. The sultan praised the Syrians' wisdom and expressed joy over them.²³⁷⁷ This happened not because we deserve such honor, far from it. It happened because God's compassion willed to comfort his small flock and his church, which was weakened by the betrayal of Bar Wahbun. He granted her solace as a mother does to her infant child by nursing him. As to us, we deserve the revilement (of Bar Wahbun) which afflicted us.

On Saturday, July 30, 1494 (A.D. 1183), we were afflicted by Divine Justice for our sins, and the lord chastised us with mercy. Our begrudged monastery, that is, the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum, was burned down. An old monk named Denha entered his inner cell at dawn to get rest, but forgot to put out the candle, which may have been by God's permission. When he went out to the vineyard, the fire of the candle fell on the clothes and the wooden (furniture) up and down, and found enough food for burning, for not only the roofs of the cells were made of wood, but also their foundations. In fact, four, and sometimes five cells were connected with each other, which aggravated the flames even more. We were (in the church) performing the third hour prayer. We heard voices shouting for help and rushed to the closet where the coffin in which was deposited the right hand of our lord, the holy Mor Barsoum. However, the fire flames worsened because of the blowing of the wind by the (divine) wrath. We then believed that God had a hand in this matter. We saved nothing except the relics of Mor Barsoum and St. Peter, which we carried with us and left through the gate of the monastery, leaving everything else to the fire.

The fire consumed all the cells and the houses of the assembling of monks, the cells of monks and novices and everything therein. It also consumed the ancient church including the books, silver and copper vessels and even the iron, and turned the stones into lime. The doors of the monastery were burned down and the wall collapsed. In brief, nothing was saved except the new church that had been built recently, the high tower of the monastery, the oven's cavern and the outer gate called the Gargar Gate. The remaining belongings were turned into a heap of ashes. On Sunday, whatever was left of the building collapsed, and a young man from Gargar who came to loot, lost his life.

We witnessed three miracles taking place. The first was that no harm was done to the monks or the novices despite that they braved the fire to save whatever they could of belongings, and that the rubble fell on them in many places. This miracle was similar to the one mentioned in the life story of the saint (Mor Barsoum), that the saint supplicated God, and hailstone fell, destroying the fields surrounding the vineyards of the faithful without touching them or causing harm to anyone. Today, the saint supplicated God to burn down the possessions and save the souls because our mouths are accustomed to open for the love of money. The second miracle was that, despite the fire, no harm touched the wooden coffin in which were deposited the relics of the saints and preserved in the closet. I wonder whether this miracle was like what happened to the three young men who were thrown into the furnace in Babylon but not harmed by the fire because the Son of Elohim (God) was with them.²³⁷⁸ Likewise, Jesus the Son of God was present in these relics and protected them for the encouragement of the faithful. The third miracle was that there were many books (in the monastery) which no one read or opened, and they were burned by the fire as if they were expendable. On the contrary, the books, which were constantly read, remained intact despite that they were encircled by fire. They are the three copies of the Gospels, a thick volume containing sermons, the writings of Mor Jacob (of Edessa) and two *fanqithos* (Service Books) for the whole year.

We stayed with the monks for a whole month in the upper tower until the wrath subsided. Then, we began to rebuild the monastery, and in three years, we finished the work in a much better form than before. The construction of the new church took twelve years and was finished by the grace of the Lord. *Glory to the Father who helped us finish these stories.*

²³⁷⁷ See this episode in Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 709-710.

²³⁷⁸ Daniel 3:24-29.

Chapter Three: On the time when Isaacus, that is Ishaq, ruled over the Greeks; and the different world events which took place in this period

On September 14, 1496 (A.D. 1185), the Day of the Festivity of the Cross, Andronicus (I Comnenus, 1183-1185), was killed and Isaac (II Angeles, 1185-1195), reigned. While Andronicus was planning to kill Isaac as he already killed the members of the royal family, Isaac learned of Andronicus's plan and put on his arms. When the king (Andronicus) summoned him to appear before him, he refused. Furious, Andronicus sent the captain of his host to bring him in. When Isaac saw him furious, he sensed that he was intending to kill him. Taking death lightly, he drew his sword and struck the captain of the host dead. He mounted his horse, and dashed to the Great Church with the sword splashed with blood in his hand, shouting and calling on people for help. Crowds gathered, and the nobles entered the church. They had already lost confidence in Andronicus for the egregious iniquities he had committed. They agreed to set up Isaac, who was from the royal family, as an emperor. They pressed on their patriarch (Basilius) to consecrate him as emperor, and he performed his consecration in the church and was proclaimed a king (emperor). Andronicus fled the royal palace via the sea, but they overtook his ship and brought him back. They tortured him with cruelty and slashed his body with knives while he was still alive. They wounded him ferociously and finally burned him by fire in the midst of the crowd.²³⁷⁹

In April of this year, Saladin went forth from Egypt and attacked the fortress of Karak. He was challenged by Nur al-Din (lord of Hisn Kipha) and the rest of the amirs of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), who fought him with mangonels (engines of war) and all kinds of weapons. They were joined by the Franks, and the Turks (Saladin's forces) fled, but went on spoiling Samaria and its region. They killed a great number of people, especially, that the Franks remained in the fortress to protect it. However, when the Franks learned of what happened, they went after the Turks who fled from their presence and the captives were rescued.²³⁸⁰

In that year the leprosy of Baldwin (IV), king of Jerusalem, worsened and he handed over the kingdom to the little boy who was the son of his sister (Sibyl who was married to William Longsword),²³⁸¹ and who was also called Baldwin (V). Shortly after his enthronement, Baldwin the leper passed away.²³⁸²

After we departed Melitene, the Sultan (Kilij Arslan II) invaded the Romans' territory and captured twelve fortresses. He addressed the following letter to my lowliness:

From Kilij Arslan, the great Sultan of Cappadocia, Syria and Armenia, to Patriarch Michael, the friend of our kingdom, who resides in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum and who prays for our success. We declare that God has glorified the affairs of our kingdom at this time by your prayer. From ancient Philadelphia (Alashehr, Turkey), the son of the king of the Rum (Emperor Andronicus Comnenus, 1183-1185, grandson of Alexius I), came with his sons to offer submission to our throne. We dispatched with him an army of forty thousand men. The enemies gathered in large numbers in the Great City (Constantinople) and prepared for war. However, God gave victory to our army, chased, defeated the enemies of our kingdom, and slaughtered them so that they will never be able to rise against us for a long time to come. Our army occupied the great fortress of Diyadin and controlled the regions extending to the seashore, which has become subject to our kingdom. Now we administer that region which has not been subject to the Turks before, according to the laws of our kingdom. It should be said that verily God has given it all to us because of the power of your prayer. Therefore, we beseech you not to cease praying for our kingdom. Farewell.²³⁸³

²³⁷⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 319-320; A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, II, 379 and 438 and George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 356-362.

²³⁸⁰ At best, Michael Rabo's account of these events is strange and confusing. For a full analysis, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 799-800 and the sources used.

²³⁸¹ See William of Tyre, *History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, 2:415-419, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 756.

²³⁸² Baldwin IV died on March 16, 1185 and was succeeded by Baldwin V, then only nine years old. He died in 1186. See Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 1100-1291, 411; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 320, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 813 and the numerous sources quoted.

²³⁸³ For this letter, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 710-711.

Afterwards, many similar letters were sent to us by the sultan at different times.

In this time, three brothers came to the sultan, and took an army of Turks and ruled in Philadelphia (Alashehr, Turkey). A short while later, the tyrant Andronicus marched against them. He killed one of them and the other two fled from his presence. One of them was Isaac who killed the wicked Andronicus and reigned.

In this period Ignatius, metropolitan of Jerusalem, passed away. He served the episcopate for forty-five years. In 1496 (A.D. 1185), my brother, Metropolitan Athanasius, was sent to Jerusalem, and a great commotion was stirred up by the wicked monks in that city on his account. When peace prevailed between him and the monks, Satan instigated his client, Theodore bar Wabhun, the second Arius, who provoked trouble and placed the metropolitan in a position of defense until Bar Wabhun perished.²³⁸⁴

In this time when Krikor (Gregory), catholicos of the Armenians, heard that the Monastery of Mor Barsoum was burned down by fire, he rejoiced because malice was deeply buried in his heart. He went on declaring that saint Mor Barsoum is gone and disappeared. With such raving, he tried to usurp the honor (of Mor Barsoum). However, God, who was dwelling in the saint (Mor Barsoum), and who chastised us justly for the burning of the monastery because of our sins, rejected Krikor and afflicted him with a heavy blow. Taking advantage of Gregory's departure from the fortress of Romaitha to Tarsus, his nephew (son of his sister) named Shahanshah, relying on the Turks, rebelled against him. He almost handed the fortress over to the Turks had it not been for Gregory who hurried back to it. He assembled troops and waged war against the fortress, but was forced to withdraw after many of the catholicos' men perished. Then, he came to the Monastery of Taboush near Kesum, confessing that Saint Barsoum was the one who had chastised him. He also, proclaimed repentance in public before Iyawannis, metropolitan of Kesum. Afterwards, he made pledges to his nephew supported by solemn oaths, and thus both were reconciled.

Chapter Four: On the claim of astronomers that a storm would blow up and destroy the entire world as did the Flood in the time of Noah, and their frustration for it not taking place; and on the events which took place in this period

After the death of Qutb al-Din (Ilghazi II) lord of Mardin (in 1184),²³⁸⁵ Nur al-Din, lord of Hisn Kipha of his own race, also died suddenly in Amid. He had transferred marble columns from the church to his own house and was struck by (Divine) blow, which ended his life. He was succeeded by his young son, Qutb al-Din (Sukman II, 1185-1200). In Mardin, was set up a young man named Husam al-Din (Yuluk Arslan). Both of these young men were sons of slave women. After the death of Nur al-Din, his brother Imad al-Din stirred up sedition and captured Hisn Ziyad.

Afterwards, the ruler of the Armenians Mir Miran (Chief Prince) the old man Shah Armen, died and no one of his own clan was found to succeed him, one of his slaves called Bektimur (Sayf al-Din, 1185-1193, governor of Miyafarqat) was set up in his place.²³⁸⁶ On the way to receive the government, Bektimur passed by Sasson Mountain and was met by the nephew of the catholicos of the Armenians (Gregory IV), who had come down from the fortress of Romaitha. He would not let Bektimur pass by until he pledged to give him back the fortresses of his father Bakhin.

In this year the prince of Antioch (Bohemond III, son of Raymond of Poitiers, lord of Antioch, 1164-1201), who had signed peace with Saladin and was sure that no one would challenge him, unjustly seized Reuben (Reupen), lord of Cilicia, and cast him in chains in prison. He gathered the Franks and attacked Cilicia. The fighting continued all summer long without being able to capture any part of it because Leon had taken the place of Reuben and protected the region with wisdom. The prince withdrew humiliated. Finally, the Armenians gave the Franks three thousand dinars and al-Missisa, Adana and other

²³⁸⁴ Arius was condemned for heresy by the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D.

²³⁸⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 317.

²³⁸⁶ Al-Isfahani, in Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 2: 62-63; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 2: 167.

regions, and he set Reuben free. After he was released from prison, Reuben rebelled against the prince and took from him the regions that he had captured. Then the prince went on looting and spoiling Cilicia.

In this period, the amir of Edessa, empowered by the sultan of Egypt (Saladin), captured the region of Shabakhtan from the amir of Mardin. The tutor of the amir of Mardin fought against the people of Edessa on his behalf but was defeated. Then, Saladin came with the intention of ruling Mardin. When he failed to capture it by treachery, he was satisfied by the pledge of its inhabitants to subject themselves to him. It was then that he fell ill and suffered immensely. He spent the winter in the city with his army, and a rumor was circulated that he died. However, he recovered and seized the amir of Edessa, Muzaffar al-Din ibn Zayn al-Din, and took from him the two Citadels of Edessa and Harran. Shortly afterwards, they reconciled and Saladin returned them to him.

In this time, Stephen was ordained a metropolitan for Sijistan, Basilius for the Bira of Gargar, and another Basilius for al-Raqqa (Callinicus). On Sunday of the Consecration of the Church, the church of Mor Yuhanon (John) in Edessa was destroyed by fire for the following reason. For a long time, the church was deserted and no service was conducted in it because of lack of presbyters, and it was used by the governors to store cotton. Pigeons nested in its roofs and some people hunted them at night by the light of torches. It happened that the hunters left one of these torches in the upper attic of the church and departed. Fire spread out of the torch to the upper parts of the church and consumed not only the wood but also the stones, down to the foundations. The thirty-two marble columns were burned down like hay, and the church turned into heaps of ashes.

The churches which were destroyed in Edessa in the time of the Tayoye (Muslims) were the Great Church, the Church of the Apostles, the Church of St. Thomas, the Church of St. Michael, the Church of St. Qawme "the Church of the Kerchief", the Church of St. Jirjis, the Church of St. Faruqa which was built by Abgar, the suspended Church of the Mother of God, two other churches in the name of the Mother of God, the Church of the Forty Martyrs, another great church in the name of the Forty Martyrs, the Church of the Confessors at the Sa'a Gate, the Church of St. Stephen and the Church of St. Theodore in front of the Citadel.

In April of 1497 (A.D. 1186), we (Michael Rabo) went from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery) to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. By the grace of God and the intercession of Mor Barsoum, we overcame our weakness and rebuilt walls for a new church, whose foundations we had set up seven years earlier. During these years, many others and we suffered not a little in having it built.

In the year 1497 (A.D. 1186), an event took place which should be recorded for future generations for the glory of God who "catches the wise in their craftiness,"²³⁸⁷ and "chose the foolish things of this world to shame the wise."²³⁸⁸ Here are the details of this story.

For the past years, the *hakime* (sages)²³⁸⁹ began to say that in September of this year, the wandering seven celestial bodies: the sun, moon, Saturn, Mars, Mercury and Venus would juxtapose in one zodiac of the Libra. It never happened before that these bodies juxtaposed in one zodiac, except the zodiac of Pisces in the time of Noah, which caused the Flood. Since they would juxtapose in the Libra zodiac, they would cause another flood. This humbug and false prediction was confirmed not by only one or two but by thousands of people. A rumor was circulated that planets will juxtapose after thirty years, which is the year 1497 (A.D. 1186). They claimed that a storm would blow and destroy the cities, villages and everything therein of beasts, animals and birds, and nothing would ever be seen on earth.

This rumor spread in the East and the West, in Egypt and in India. Some faithful (members of the Syrian Church) wrote from Sijistan asking us to pray for them. Jews, Muslims, heathens and many Christians believed this (false rumor), saying that the sun would eclipse on that day, darkness would prevail, the earth would tremble, violent wind would blow, a storm would sweep the dust and stones and would cover the

²³⁸⁷ 1 Corinthians 3:19.

²³⁸⁸ 1 Corinthians 1:27.

²³⁸⁹ In the title of this chapter, the author uses the Greek term *Astronomos* (astronomers). Here he uses the term *hakime* (sages). I used the term astrologers instead of astronomers.

cities and villages. They claimed that two comets would appear, and they believed in like fables. Many kings and leaders stored food provisions in caves and built safe houses for themselves. Others moved to different places and settled in caves and caverns.

However, the Christians who were deeply rooted in faith, did not believe this insanity, and persevered in prayer, fasting, supplication and doing charity. They were ridiculed by heathens, Jews, and especially by the astrologers for persevering in supplication. They profaned saying, "It is impossible even for God to stop this determined matter which is destined to happen." We responded to those who addressed letters to our lowliness inquiring about this subject, saying, "No sparrow will fall to the trap as it is written,²³⁹⁰ and no tree leaf falls to the ground except by order from above." We also said that liars are those who claim that a flood will take place when the stars meet in the zodiac of Pisces. Our idea not only was derived from books but it was also based on rational evidence. We say that, if according to the claim of the erroneous astrologers, the Flood in the time of Noah occurred by the meeting of the stars, why then, could not those who were well-versed in the false knowledge of the stars predict the coming of the Flood except Noah, to whom the Flood was revealed by God? In fact, they laughed at Noah as people later did to Lot in the case of Sodom. However, the non-believers and those who submitted to the spirits kept repeating the term "winds" until every tongue reiterated "winds, winds," the winds are coming and business and trading will stop. When the day in which was said that winds would blow drew near, people began to flee and hide in caves and caverns. When that day dawned, a soft and invigorating breeze blew over the face of the earth and continued to blow smoothly for several months. All the nations praised God who alone dispenses of everything.

The kings scoffed at the astrologers and considered their craft a charlatanry. As for me (Michael Rabo), brothers, I say that although what the astrologers claim about the blowing of the wind and other things is sheer conjecture because they have missed the point. Yet the assembling of the stars in one zodiac according to God's plan to have them run in the celestial sphere is possible. Indeed, the movement of these stars was known to the Egyptians, who recognized that the eclipse of the sun and the moon is subject to this movement. However, God who created the elements is able to change and bring forth water out of a rock as he did with the Hebrews.²³⁹¹ And he turned water into a rock (dry land) as he did for Simon (Peter who walked on water)²³⁹² Also, he is the one who changed the eclipse of the sun and the moon at that time because he felt compassionate toward the sons of men, lest they fall into error and forget the creator who is glorified by all. He alone knows everything and dispenses of everything. *Transcribed by the poorest of monks, Mikha'il Bar Barsoum.* This colophon is written in Arabic script.

Chapter Five: On the time of warfare between the Kurds and the Turkomans, and their massacre of the Christians in the Tayoye (Muslim) domains; and their eradication of other people

Since the year 1496 (A.D. 1185), the Turkomans began their warfare. For eight years they fought against Armenia, Athor, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Syria and Cappadocia. The reason for this warfare is as follows:

The great Turkoman people were tent dwellers. However, they spent the winter in the wilderness south of Syria where snow does not fall and the ground does not freeze, and pastures were available. In the spring, they moved to the northern regions where grass was plentiful for their cattle. Because their cattle were numerous, they crowded the roads during their movement up and down. The Kurds, who were accustomed to robbery everywhere, stole their sheep, horses, cows, and camels. Sometimes, they even killed some of them. Therefore, the Turkomans began to move in bands in order to protect their animals. At one time, they detected in the region of Shabakhtan two hundred Kurds waiting in ambush to plunder them. They attacked the ambushers and killed all of them. Now enmity between the two peoples was most apparent. About ten thousand Kurds and more than this number of Turkomans gathered for war, and ten

²³⁹⁰ Matthew 10:29.

²³⁹¹ Numbers 20:8-11.

²³⁹² Matthew 14:29.

thousand men were killed on both sides. The Kurds became more wrathful and hateful. About thirty thousand Kurds assembled from the regions of Nisibin and Tur Abdin. Likewise, the Turkomans gathered in the region of Habura and both engaged in battle. The Kurds were defeated and the corpses of their perished men scattered between the River Habura (Khabur) and Nisibin.

In the region of Mosul, two battles took place between the Turkomans and the Kurds, and the Kurds were defeated and fled into the mountains near Cilicia. They were close to the boundaries of the Armenians where they could protect their children. However, the Turkomans fell upon them and killed their men, women and children by the sword, and plundered their possessions. Thus, the Kurdish race was eradicated in Syria and Beth Nahrin. The Turkomans roamed in bands through plains and mountains killing the Kurds wherever they found them without mercy or reason.

In the early years, the Turkomans did no harm to the Christians. Later, however, they began to kill them for two reasons: First, they discovered that the Kurds hid their belongings in Christian villages. Second, the rulers did not prevent the Turkomans from spoiling and killing which urged the people to move to Greater Armenia. However, after the Turkomans annihilated the Kurds, they spoiled Armenia, took twenty-six thousand captives, and sold them as slaves. They burned down the (Armenian) villages and the great Monastery of Garabed, killing all its monks and looting its books and everything therein. They captured the fortress of Tell Arabs in the region of Shabakhtan and sold its inhabitants as slaves. In addition, they killed one hundred seventy men in Tellesme (Tell Besme) and many others like them. Finally, when the governors witnessed the destruction of their country and that the villages were desolate of people, each one of them waged war against the Turkomans in his own domain. Battles were fought in the regions of Cappadocia and Melitene. In the meantime, the Turkomans attacked Cappadocia, and its lord fought against them. Two hundred children from the village and the district perished. The tongue is too weary to relate the killing during those eight years. In fact, a small spark created a blaze, which consumed multitudes before it, subsided.

In this period, there was in the Greek Island of Cyprus a Greek governor named Comnenus (Isaac II Angeles, d. 1195). He rebelled against the king (emperor) of Constantinople. He summoned the Greek bishops and commanded them to ordain a patriarch for them. They did as he ordered, and the patriarch consecrated this Isaac Comnenus as king. The people of Cyprus proclaimed him a king and the other a patriarch of Cyprus. This whole matter was the cause of derision of those in Constantinople until the kings of the Franks came forth from Rome, and the King of England (Richard the Lion-Heart) controlled Cyprus. Richard arrested its Greek king (Isaac Comnenus), bound him in iron and cast him into a fortress near Antioch. Meantime, the patriarch who was proclaimed a patriarch of Cyprus, passed away, and their sinister plan failed. Then, the king of England gave Cyprus to the Frères (Knights Templar). When the Frankish king (Richard) departed the island, the Greeks, urged by arrogance, attacked the Frankish garrison thinking they would regain control of the kingdom (of Cyprus) if they killed the Franks. They began to fight but were defeated and the Franks set up a king for Cyprus (Guy of Lusignan in 1191), who was formerly in Jerusalem.²³⁹³

On the 8th hour on Friday, September 4, 1498 (A.D. 1187), an eclipse took place and stars appeared close to the sun.

In the year 1500 (A.D. 1189), Maphryono Yuhanon (John) came beseeching us (Michael Rabo) to relieve him from service. We urged him not to do so but he would not accept. He went to the Monastery of Mor Jacob in the Edessa Mountain, and afterwards, repented. He came unto us and we provided him with letters, and he returned to his diocese. While sleeping on the roof of the church in the village of Ba Khudayda (present-day Qaraqosh north of Mosul), he fell off the roof dead (in 1189). He was buried in St. Matthew's Monastery. Then, the congregations of Takrit, Mosul and Nineveh sent us a letter with envoys asking us, according to the canons, to ordain for them a chief priest. They informed us that they had an audacious person named (Karim) Bar Tamsih (The Anonymous Edessan, 355-379 writes the name as Bar

²³⁹³ In order to obtain a comprehensive picture of these events, the reader is advised to read Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, entire Chapter 28, pp. 961-997 and the multitude of sources used.

Masih) who was ambitious to assume this position, and he was supported by bad men like himself.²³⁹⁴ However, the entire faithful addressed to us a letter saying that they absolutely did not accept Bar Tamsih because of his impure and stinking deeds. We had also heard of this report from the late Maphryono Yuhanon. Therefore, according to the advice of the Spirit, we addressed a canonical invitation to my nephew and spiritual pupil, Rabban (monk) Jacob, and ordained him a chief priest. He was a learned man. Speech fails me to relate his virtues granted to him by the Father of Lights, from whom emanates every good talent and consummate gift. He was ordained in the monastery of Mor Domit in the province of Mardin on Sunday, at the beginning of Lent of the year 1500 (A.D. 1189). He was called Gregorius, chief of the Eastern Bishops, at his ordination.²³⁹⁵

In this period Mor Mark, patriarch of Alexandria and Egypt, passed away. He served the patriarchate for twenty-three years. He was transported to the spiritual realm (heaven) which has no end, in January. Iyawannis was ordained a pope, or patriarch, for the Alexandrian throne.

Chapter Six: On the time when Jerusalem was seized from the Franks by Saladin, sultan of Egypt, and subjugating it to the Tayoye (Muslims); and on the events which took place in this time

In the year 1498 (A.D. 1187), Sultan Saladin assembled an army from Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Athor (Mosul), and challenged the Franks. On Saturday July 4, the Franks were defeated because they were abandoned (by God) for our sins. The king of Jerusalem (Guy of Lusignan) was captured, and his prominent men were slaughtered along with the entire Frères (Knights Templar).²³⁹⁶ This defeat took place at Tiberias (Hittin July 4, 1187). It is said that the lord of Tripoli (Raymond III), who had the ambition to obtain the kingship but failed, rebelled, fled and betrayed the Franks.²³⁹⁷ However, I say that the Franks would have not been defeated if it were not that God abandoned them, because no sparrow falls into the trap without an order from above.²³⁹⁸ Saladin personally slaughtered the old man Rangad (Reginald of Châtillon) and three hundred Friars and washed himself with their blood. Then, he destroyed Tiberias and killed everyone in it. He turned and attacked Acre (Akka) and its noble men fled to Tyre by sea. Those who remained surrendered to Saladin. Saladin went on spoiling Caesarea, Yafa, Samaria, and Nazareth and the whole world was crowded with captives.²³⁹⁹ The pen fails to record what the Christians suffered in Damascus, Aleppo, Harran, Edessa, Amid, Mardin and Mosul and in all the regions under Muslim authority of abuse, humiliation, revilement and spit.

In October of the year 1499 (A.D. 1188), Saladin granted the Franks of Ascalon a pledge. He released the captured king (Guy of Lusignan) and handed the city to him. Then he marched against Jerusalem, the land of peace. After few days, he waged war against it and destroyed the northeastern section of its wall. Because there was no one to rescue its inhabitants, they agreed to pay ten dinars for every citizen and leave the city. Thousands and ten thousands left with weeping and lamentation, which would split stones. Those who could not pay were taken captive. Saladin, however, released twenty thousand men and women of whom were four thousand aged men and women. He designated six thousand men to serve his forces and sent five thousand to Egypt to build walls. He left five thousand in Jerusalem to build the walls and the Temple of Solomon, which they (Muslims) called the Rock and was built by the Arabs. They purified it according to their Shari'a (law) and would not let a Christian set foot in it. They closed the

²³⁹⁴ On Karim Bar Masih, see The Anonymous Edessan 359-362; Ignatius Jacob III, *History of the Monastery of Saint Matthew in Mosul*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press and Beth Antioch Press, 2008), 86-87 and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 698-700.

²³⁹⁵ Ignatius Jacob III, *Ibid.*, and Matti Moosa, *Ibid.*

²³⁹⁶ See "The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre," in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996), 47, 161.

²³⁹⁷ Apparently, Raymond sought the help of Saladin to become the king of Jerusalem. See "The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre," 29; Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994), 111, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 816-817.

²³⁹⁸ Cf. Matthew 10:29.

²³⁹⁹ The manner Saladin treated King Guy of Lusignan and killed the aged Reginald of Châtillon and the Templars, is related by both Arab and Western sources. For details, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 842-849.

Church of Resurrection and other churches, and the Christians who remained in Jerusalem stood at the doors praying while weeping.

Then, Saladin marched against the city of Tyre situated at the heart of the sea, but faced resistance. At that time, a count arrived from Rome named Marqiz (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat) to worship in Jerusalem with no prior knowledge of the situation. However, he encouraged the people and protected the city; Saladin failed to capture it, and he withdrew and went on to capture Sidon, Beirut, Jubayl and Tébait. In 1500 (A.D. 1189), he captured the fortresses of Karak and Shawbak on the coast of the Red Sea, and which were the cause of war between him and the wretched Franks. In this same year, he attacked the province of Antioch and captured Latakia, Gabala, the fortress of Sihyawn, Baghras and Darbsaq.²⁴⁰⁰

In this year trouble stirred up in Cappadocia. A conflict took place between the son of the Sultan Kilij Arslan (II), who made Sebastea his center, and Hasan (Ikhtiyar al-Din), his father's deputy. The two men prepared for war. Hasan instigated the sultan against his son, and he marched to fight him in the region of Caesarea. However, in honor of the old man (the sultan), the men who joined his son dispersed and the son returned to Sebastea without fighting his father. In retaliation and outrage, the sultan killed four thousand Turkomans who joined his son. Then, the amir Bahramshah (of Arzenjan), son-in-law of the sultan, arrived and mediated peace. Using a trick, he obtained a decree from the sultan to arrest Hasan, his deputy, and confiscate his possessions. He had him, his son and his slaves leave for Sebastea, but on the way, the Turkomans attacked Hasan, slaughtered him with his sons and slaves, and cut Hasan into pieces. They carried his limbs to Sebastea on the tip of lances. His death took place on the Festivity of the Cross (September 14, 1189).

When in the year 1500 (A.D. 1189), the partisans of Bar Tamsih (Masih) learned of what happened, they bribed the governor two thousand five hundred red gold (dinars). Emboldened by the governor's sword, and being corrupted by the spirit of Satan, they illegally ordained Bar Tamsih, but the faithful categorically rejected him. It is not worthy to record the abominations committed by Dathan the Second²⁴⁰¹ in this book. However, and for necessity only, we should explain what happened, for Bar Tamsih augmented his impudence by reconciling with Bar Wahbun, and both came to Mardin to proclaim Bar Wahbun a patriarch and Bar Tamsih a maphryono.

They bribed the lord of Mardin two thousand gold dinars and received a decree to act freely in his domain. Because of this, our (Syrian) people immensely suffered, and they particularly complained about the actions of the commissioners of the lord of Mardin, who traveled through the villages to levy taxes from the people. Finally, urged by zeal, the congregation of Mardin collected money, gave it to the lord of the city, and obtained an order to have Bar Tamsih and Bar Wahbun driven out of the city, and they went to Mosul.

In Mosul, the congregation enthusiastically had Bar Wahbun expelled first. They collected money and gave it to the governor, and obtained an order from him to arrest Bar Tamsih. They seized him, and, removing his holy priestly habit; they clothed him with a civilian garment. They delegated bishops, presbyters and monks to Maphryono Gregorius in Nisibin who accompanied them to Mosul. He was welcomed by the lord of Mosul and all the (Syrian) people. By his grace, God gave rest to his church. *End of the narrative with the help of God, to him is glory forever and ever, so be it and Amen.*

In the year 1501 (A.D. 1190), we, (Michael Rabo) under pressure from our bishops and others, delegated to Sultan Saladin, Gabriel, abbot of the monastery, and Abu al-Faraj, bishop of the Patriarchal Office, to explain to the sultan the stratagem of Bar Tamsih. They arrived in Damascus when Saladin was besieging Acre (Akka). They were seized as spies, thrown into prison, and lost everything they had. Finally, God showed mercy to them and rescued them by the effort of Muzaffar al-Din ibn Zayn al-Din, lord of

²⁴⁰⁰ See Runciman, *History*, 2: 471. The author's (Michael Rabo) treatment of these events from the time Saladin captured Jerusalem, his haggling with Balian of Ibelin regarding the amounts of ransom for the release of the captive men women and children, and the atrocities his men committed in Jerusalem, is extremely brief. For details see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, entire Chapter 25, pp. 883-907 and the different sources used.

²⁴⁰¹ On Dathan, see Deuteronomy 16:7.

Edessa. They obtained from the sultan (Saladin) authoritative letters and returned (home) joyfully by the intercession of our lord Mor Barsoum.

Chapter Seven: On the coming forth with zeal of the kings and the people of the Franks from the country of Italy to Jerusalem, and other events which took place in this period

In the year 1500 (A.D. 1189), Qaysar Shah Mu'izz al-Din, son of the sultan, ruled Melitene.

In this time, the kings and armies of the Franks came forth with great determination, and sent ahead of them numerous groups of different peoples and languages who did not understand each other. They besieged Acre (Akka) but had no king with them. Along with them were their bishops and presbyters with tents used as their churches. Saladin assembled a huge army of Muslims and the two camps were so close to each other that one could see the other. Neither the Franks could capture the city because there were sixty thousand fighting men inside, nor the sultan (Saladin) could challenge the Franks' army or push them away from the city. Then the Franks built houses, churches and four thousand districts.

Afterwards, the king of the Germans (Frederick Barbarossa) came to Constantinople and fought the Greeks and they became subject to him. Then, he turned to Iconium and suffered hunger. The Turkomans, led by the son of the Sultan (Qutb al-Din, son of Kilij Arslan II) fought them but were defeated. Then the Franks came, entered the city, and killed a great number (of people). Michael, the lord of Melitene, nicknamed Papa, was also killed. Then the sultan made peace with the Franks. They passed by the Reed Gate and then to Cilicia where the old king of the Germans died drowning in the river. (Barbarossa died by drowning on June 10, 1190). His son (Frederick of Swabia A.D. 1191) carried his body to Antioch. Then they proceeded to Acre. Meantime, two kings (Philip II Augustus and Richard Lion-Heart), came and took Cyprus from the Greeks. Then, they attacked Acre and took it by assault. Many on both sides were killed and the streets were filled with corpses. The Franks ruled Acre at the beginning of July 1502 (A.D. 1191). As to the Turkomans who remained in the city, the Franks wanted to exchange them with the Frankish captives in Damascus. After both sides agreed, Satan hardened the heart of Saladin and he did not agree to release the captive leaders of the Franks. The Frankish kings were outraged and determined to slaughter the entire Turkish captives. On that day, 20,000 Turks were slaughtered and their bodies were piled up and burned by fire at the gate of Acre.²⁴⁰²

After capturing Acre by the Franks, Saladin's morality weakened and he greatly regretted what happened. In a fit of rage, he demolished Yafa (Jaffa) and the walls of Asqalan (Ascalon) lest the Franks might capture them. However, the Franks were emboldened, especially after they captured Caesarea, and rebuilt Yafa and stationed a garrison in it. Then they rebuilt the walls of Ascalon and some of them dwelt in the city. It was then that Saladin gained strength and assembled an army to fight the Franks, but the Franks, in turn, went forth from Acre to challenge the Turks. The two sides arrayed for battle. Suddenly however, in October 1504 (A.D. 1193), both sides signed peace for three years. Saladin paid the Franks expenses for rebuilding the new wall of Ascalon. He went on to demolish the old walls down to the foundation, and the city became desolate. The Franks set up in Acre a governor called Henry who was the nephew (son of the sister) of the king of England, and they returned to their country. Saladin rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem and rendered them stronger than before.²⁴⁰³

In the year 1502 (A.D. 1191), Zayn al-Din (son of Zayn al-Din Koujak), lord of Arbil, died. His brother Muzaffar al-Din (lord of Edessa), abandoned Edessa, Harran and Samosata and went to Arbil to rule over it, and he was met with success.

Saladin gave some regions in Persia to his nephew, Umar Taqi al-Din (who was called a Sultan), to rule. He was a cruel and wicked person who hated the Christians, and even persecuted the Muslims. He

²⁴⁰² On the struggle for Acre, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, entire Chapter 26, pp. 909-934.

²⁴⁰³ In the former few paragraphs, Michael Rabo covers briefly a very significant part of the Crusades that is the Third Crusade and the campaigns of King Philip II Augustus of France and King Richard Lion-Heart of England. In order to obtain a comprehensive picture of this subject, especially the numerous Muslim and Western sources, the reader is referred to Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, Chapters 28 and 29, pp. 961-997 and 999-1041.

overburdened both Christians and Muslims with taxes and fees. By deception, he evicted the amirs, the sons of Boghosaj, who were in Sebaberck from their fortresses. Then he proceeded to Miyafarqat, which was formerly under his rule. He captured Gabgashur and Qoulab. Then, he went to Khilat in Armenia and spent five months plundering and killing, especially the Christians, without mercy. It was there that Lord struck him and he died suddenly, and his death gave rest to the people, as was the death of the wicked Julian the Apostate. (Roman Emperor 361-363). His son (al-Malik al-Mansur) and his army departed for Miyafarqat. When his son rebelled against Saladin, his father's uncle, Saladin sent his brother al-Malik al-Adil, who drove away al-Malik al-Mansur from Edessa and from Harran and Samosata and took from him Miyafarqat. However, he gave him Homs and Hama, he returned the region of Sebaberck to the Boghosaj family, and they, as before, became subjects to Qutb al-Din, lord of Amid.

In this time, a council met at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, which resolved the excommunication of Bar Tamsih, and the resolution was circled to all churches.

In this time, I (Michael Rabo) felt that God had turned his face from me because of my sins, and found no one who agreed to assume the leadership of the diocese of Mardin because of the heavy burdens placed upon it by its governor. Therefore, I was forced to ordain (a bishop) for it a confessor-monk in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in the presence of Mor Athanasius, metropolitan of Jerusalem, who was saved like a piece of wood saved from fire. However, he apologized to participate in the ordination of that wretched confessor which was done at a time God had forsaken me. At the beginning, everyone welcomed this confessor, but was later exposed and expelled because of his worthless characteristics, which I prefer not to mention. Then he was possessed by a legion of demons, rejected the faith, and intended to proclaim his conversion to Islam. Some Chalcedonians of Melitene met him and, cajoling him, appointed him a canonical bishop for Miyafarqat.

As for us (Michael Rabo), we, after a great effort, completed the construction of the church at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in fourteen years. As we said earlier, its construction started in the year 1491 (1180), and by the grace of God and the intercession of Mor Barsoum, was completed in this year 1504 (A.D. 1193). We celebrated its consecration during the convention of the Holy Council, mentioned earlier, concerning Bar Wahbun who died in this period. The consecration was done on Sunday, June 15, prior to Pentecost, in the presence of the bishops and a huge crowd of people.

In this period, the Armenian catholicos and many other people passed away.

On June 23 of this year, an-eclipse occurred and more than half of the sun disappeared. Stars were seen around it, and the moon was seen on its side.

Chapter Eight: On the time of the death of Kilij Arslan, sultan of the Turks, Bithynia, Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia; the death of Saladin, sultan of Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, and other events which took place in this period

When Sultan Kilij Arslan was pursued and persecuted by his sons, he began to move from one place to another. However, the inhabitants of Iconium brought him unto them with zeal and seated him on his throne. The old man (Kilij Arslan) assembled a great number of troops and marched against his eldest son (Qutb al-Din Malik Shah) who was ruling Axara. He fell ill, returned to Iconium and died on the way. One of his younger sons, who was in his company, carried the body to have it buried with his fathers, and he became the ruler of Iconium.

Sultan Kilij Arslan reigned successfully for thirty-eight years, and was inherited by his twelve children.

In the year 1504 (A.D. 1193), Saladin died in Damascus. He had twenty-three sons. Before his death, he trusted the leadership to his eldest son (al-Malik al-Afdal), and placed him in Damascus. He appointed his second son (al-Malik al-Aziz) to Egypt and his third son, (al-Malik al-Zahir), to Aleppo. He granted these three sons the title of "Sultan," and allotted each one of the other sons a certain region. He also granted the title of "Sultan" to his brother (al-Malik al-Adil) and gave him Harran, Edessa, Miyafarqat, Samosata, and the Citadels of Ja'bar, Karak and Shawbak.

Meanwhile, the lord of Mosul (Izz al-Din Mas'ud), his brothers (Kamal al-Din Zangi), lord of Sinjar, and (Muzaffar al-Din Sinjar Shah), lord of the Jazira, were joined by (Yuluk Arslan), lord of Mardin, marched as far as Haran to fight al-Malik al-Adil and capture his domains. Al-Malik al-Adil assembled troops and went forth to challenge them. Suddenly, however, the lord of Mosul fell ill and returned to his city; those with him were dispersed. Al-Malik al-Adil took from them al-Raqqqa and Habura and laid siege to Nisibin. These lords submitted to him as they had submitted to his brother (Saladin). Al-Malik al-Adil gave them back Habura and they were reconciled with him. Then, al-Malik al-Adil went to occupy Armenia but failed and returned empty handed. Meanwhile, Izz al-Din, lord of Mosul, died and was succeeded by his son Nur al-Din.

Leon, prince of Cilicia, seized the prince of Antioch (Bohemond III), and tortured him harshly as revenge for what he did to his brother Reuben. However, Count Henry arrived from Acre and by his intercession and pledges, the prince was released and returned to Antioch.²⁴⁰⁴

After the death of the sultan (Kilij Arslan) Leon controlled seventy-two fortresses in the land of the Romans, some of which he took from the Turks and some from the Greeks. He was always victorious in his wars with the Turks, and the sons of the sultan found refuge with him. In 1506 (A.D. 1195), the lord of Ablastain (Mughith al-Din Tughrul Shah) went and offered homage to him. Then, Leon marched against the lord of Caesarea (Nur al-Din Sultan Shah, one of Kilij Arslan's sons), overwhelmed him and seized from him a fortress near Caesarea. Then, al-Malik al-Aziz, sultan of Egypt, marched to Damascus to fight against his brother, but their uncle, the lord of Edessa, reconciled them.²⁴⁰⁵

It was said earlier, that the catholicos of the Armenians (Gregorius IV Dgha) passed away in July 1504 (A.D. 1193), and the Armenians ordained his nephew the young man also called Gregorius, nicknamed (Diratsu).

In this year Amaury, Frankish patriarch of Antioch, died in the Fortress of Qusayr, which he owned. They brought his body and buried it in the Great Church of Antioch. He left an enormous treasure. The Franks set up another patriarch, an old priest named Ramulf.

In this time Mor Iyawannis, patriarch of Alexandria, sent to us a messenger the old man bishop Peter. He was learned, amiable and chaste. He carried to us a message written in the Coptic and Arabic languages, containing eloquent words confirming the Orthodox faith. It was adorned with humility, and complete love.

When the wars of the Turkomans began in 1096 (more correctly 1496 (A.D. 1185),²⁴⁰⁶ the rods of wrath began with them and were repeated. The locusts swarmed, and bitter hunger was everywhere that even people ate the flesh of the dead and other unclean things. Many people sold their own children. In Shabakhtan alone, to the exclusion of other lands, twenty two thousand male and female children were sold in Dunaysir and were taken captive to Babylon (Baghdad). Up to this year, 1506 (A.D. 1195), the locusts continued to devastate the crops and vineyards from the boundaries of Egypt to Iberia, and from Persia to the Sea of Pontus (Black Sea). The price of a large measure of wheat in Melitene went up to sixteen sultanic dinars.

In this year (1195), al-Malik al-Adil, lord of Edessa, forbade the ringing of bells in the churches of Edessa, and the Christians were immensely distressed. May God have mercy. *He who reads let him pray for the sinner, the scribe Michael.* This colophon is written in Arabic.

After the destruction of Jerusalem, my (sibling) brother Mor Athanasius left the city and came unto me at the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum. I sent him as my deputy to the diocese of Antioch, and was received like an angel. He was greatly honored not only by our few people there but also by the Franks and the Armenians. After spending two years in that diocese, he, by God's dispensation, passed away after some illness on Thursday, October 21, 1504 (A.D. 1193), and was buried in the Monastery of Mor Dawud (David)

²⁴⁰⁴ Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 1100-1291, 661-662.

²⁴⁰⁵ Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 1100-1291, 659.

²⁴⁰⁶ The date 1096 does not make sense; it is most likely a copyist error.

next to Patriarch Mor Yuhanon. May the Lord God have mercy on him and on everyone who prays for him.

Ignatius Suhdo, prior of the monastery, (probably of Mor Barsoum) was ordained (a bishop) for Jerusalem.

In January, Dionysius, bishop of Melitene, passed away and was succeeded by Iyawannis Bar Conon, metropolitan of Qallisura, as its bishop.

In October 1506 (A.D. 1195), the Maphryono Gregorius accompanied by four bishops from his diocese, came unto us at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. They confirmed their canonical pledge to their spiritual father (Michael Rabo). When they returned to their dioceses, Satan instigated Bar Tamsih once more. He slandered the maphryono to the governor claiming that he had fled (his diocese) and would never come back. However, when the maphryono and his bishops returned to their dioceses, Bar Tamsih was disgraced and held in contempt by the faithful, while the maphryono was received with a great honor by the governor and the people.

In this year (A.D. 1195), Leon, lord of Cilicia, sent men who captured the Fortress of Romaitha and seized the young (Armenian) catholicos. Upon examining his actions, the Armenian bishops deposed him and Leon placed him in the Gubira fortress under guard. The wretched (catholicos) tried to escape but a rock fell on him and he died. He became a disgrace to the Armenians. Then the Armenians ordained catholicos Abirad, cousin of the old man, and he was also called Krikorius (Gregory). *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Eight of Book Twenty-One is followed immediately by the following note:

With the hope of God Almighty, we write down the names of the chief priests in the upper column and the kings in the lower column who are set in order in this book one after the other in order to make them easier to find.

Note: Since the table of names covers pp. 744-750 of the Aleppo-Edessa Syriac Codex contains most of the names already set in the book, I find it superfluous to record here. However, and in order to complete the table of the names of the patriarchs, bishops and catholicoses at the end of this translation, I chose to put down the names of the bishops of Rome, the bishops of Alexandria and the bishops of Ephesus. It should also be noticed that this table of names of pontiffs and kings of ancient kingdoms, mainly based on those of Andronicus and Jacob of Edessa, is almost the same as that of the eleventh-century Bishop Ilyya (Elijah, Elias) bar Shinaya.²⁴⁰⁷ Another thing that should be noticed about the table of names of the Patriarchs of Antioch, is that it does not stop with the name of Michael Rabo, author of the book, but contains the names of thirteen patriarchs who followed his death in 1199. This interpolation indicates that a copyist must have tampered with the original text. However, this is not my main concern, and the task is left to scholars of textual comparison. (Trans.)

By the grace of God, we write about the ancient Aramaean kingdoms, which are the descendants of Aram who were called Syrians that is the natives of Syria. We have gathered about them truthful testimonies from books characterized by precision

Know that Eusebius, an expert in such historical matters, explains from the ancient histories of Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus and other Chaldeans, the table of the generations of kings from Adam until the Flood, which took place in the time of Noah. He counts ten kings one after the other. We have mentioned them in this our book and the years of the reign of each one of them.²⁴⁰⁸ They are: Aloros, reigned 10 saros (*saro* is a Chaldean measure of time); Alaparus, reigned 3 saros; Almelon, reigned 13 saros; Amegalarus, reigned 18 saros; Daonus, reigned 12 Amanon reigned *saro* (more correctly 10); Edonvanchus, reigned 10 saros (more correctly 18 saros); Amempsinus, reigned 8 saros; Otiartus, reigned 10 saros (more correctly 8 saros; and Xisthusrus, reigned 8 saros (more correctly 18 saros).²⁴⁰⁹ All of them were called

²⁴⁰⁷ See *The Chronicle of Ilyya bar Shinaya*, translated by Rev. Yusuf Habbi (1975), 20-62.

²⁴⁰⁸ See above Book One, Chapter Four, pp. 43-44 where the author does not mention Eusebius but he mentions the same table of generations of ten Chaldean kings.

²⁴⁰⁹ For the list of these names see previous footnote.

Chaldeans. After the Flood, Euvexius the Chaldean reigned and after him Komasilos. He also indicates that twenty-six kings were set up since Xisuthrous, in whose time the Flood took place, until the Mede kings captured Babylon. Eusebius relies on the testimonies of Polyhistor and Abydenus saying that, "Polyhistor mentions every one of these kings and the years he reigned." He goes on to say that, "After the kingdom of the Chaldeans vanished, twenty-one Mede kings ruled successively." He continues saying that, "Then, forty Chaldean kings ruled." He mentions their names and the years they reigned. When the Assyrians put an end to the kingdom of the Chaldeans in the time of Shamiram (Samiramis), forty-six kings followed. Then, a Chaldean king named Phaulos, who Hebrew sources call Paul, ruled. He is the one who came to Judea. Then, Polyhistor says that Sennacherib came (to Judea) according to the Prophet Isaiah who says, "In the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah's reign, Sennacherib king of Assyria attacked all the fortified cities of Judah and captured them."²⁴¹⁰ Concerning Rabshakeh who was sent by Sennacherib to Jerusalem, he says, "Then Eliakim and Shebna and Jo'ah said to Rabshakeh; speak to your servants in Aramaic, since we understand it. Don't speak to us in Judean (Hebrew)."²⁴¹¹ It is clear from these Biblical testimonies and from the Aramaic language that the Chaldean and Assyrian kings were Aramaean. However, why were they called Chaldeans and Assyrians? We may know this from the writings of Polyhistor and Abydenes on which Josephus the Hebrew relied, and were quoted by Eusebius Pamphili, bishop of Caesarea. Discussing the generations of the three sons of Noah, he said, "Shem, the third son of Noah had five sons who dwelt in Asia which extends from the Euphrates to the Indian Ocean. He gave Elam to the Elamites who are the origin of the Persians. He stationed Ashur in the city of Nineveh, and his followers were called Assyrians. He called the sons of Arphaxad, Arphaxadians. The Aramaeans controlled the land of Aram, and they are called Syrians by the Greeks, of whom was Uz who built Trachonitis and Damascus between Palestine and Coele-Syria. All of them were geneally called, by the old name, Chaldeans and Athoroye or Assyrians since the time Ashur inhabited Nineveh."²⁴¹²

This account of Eusebius agrees with that of Josephus, the Jewish historian who said that Ashur from whom descended the Assyrians is the one who built Nineveh.²⁴¹³ He also said that, "The Chaldeans from whom are the Assyrians and the Aramaeans, they are the Syrians." After a protracted discourse, Josephus said, "these names are thus pronounced by the Hellenistic Greeks because of the beauty of their enunciation, and do not pronounce them like we Hebrews do. For their formula of names is different from that in our own language. They have only one formula of names, which ends with one form. For example, they pronounce the name of Noah as Nonnus, and this formula extends to all the names used by the Greeks." Based on these trustworthy sources, we can ascertain that the names of all the kings of this region, whether Chaldeans or Syrians are of our tongue (Syrians). However, they were later altered when the Greeks dominated Asia. In an opportune time, we shall discuss the reason the Syrian names were lost in the Holy Scriptures.

Let us return to the time of Sennacherib to see what was written about him. About Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander Polyhistor says, "After Phoul, his brother Sennacherib reigned. He marched with an army against Babylon, triumphed, and dominated the Babylonians. He captured Sarnilibos alive and sent him to Athor. He set up his son Asordonisos a king over the Babylonians, and he departed for Athor. When he heard that the Greeks had entered Cilicia, he marched with a great army against them and annihilated most of them. He had a memorial statute of himself erected there in commemoration of his victory, and wrote down the events in the Chaldean language. He built the city of Tarsus in the likeness of Babylon and called it Tarshish. After returning to his own land, he lived eighteen years and then was killed by his son, who ruled eight years after he did. He was succeeded by Samogious for twenty-one years, and then by his brother for twenty-one years. Following these (kings), Neboplasoros ruled twenty years, and

²⁴¹⁰ Isaiah 36:1.

²⁴¹¹ Isaiah 36:11. See Robert Bedrosian, pp. 3-5; Roger Pearse, pp. 6-7 and Karst, pp. 5-7.

²⁴¹² Evidently, Michael Rabo quotes Josephus freely. See *The Works of Flavius Josephus, The Antiquities of the Jews*, translated by William Whiston (New York: Worthington Co., 1888), 37, which shall be cited throughout as Josephus.

²⁴¹³ Josephus, *Ibid*.

then Nebuchadnezzar ruled twenty years and was succeeded by Bondonosoros. The total years from Sennacherib to Nebuchadnezzar were eighty-eight years.²⁴¹⁴

Josephus says if you search our Hebrew books, you will find the period of the events from Hezekiah to Jehoiakim who was overwhelmed by Nebuchadnezzar. Concerning Nebuchadnezzar, Josephus, who derives his testimony from an ancient book said, "When Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, heard that the satrap (governor) whom he had set over Egypt, Syria and Phoenicia, had revolted from him and was not able to fight, he committed certain parts of his army to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was then but young, and sent him against the rebel. Nebuchadnezzar defeated him and placed the country under his dominion again. Now it happened that his father Nabopolassar fell ill and died after he had reigned twenty-one years (more correctly twenty-nine years)."

"When Nebuchadnezzar learned (of his father's death), he organized the affairs of Egypt, Judea and Phoenicia and ordered the captives (he had taken from the Jews, Phoenicians, and Syrians) be taken to Babylon. With few men with him, he went in haste over the desert to Babylon. He found the affairs had been managed by the Chaldeans. After assuming power, he ordered the captives, whom he had brought, to be settled in Babylon. He adorned the temple of Bel by the spoils he had taken in this war. He also rebuilt the old city, and added another section to it on the outside. He adorned it and built three eminently high walls around it with baked bricks and lime, so that no natives or other fighters who attacked might have it in their power to divert the river, to find an entrance to it. He fortified the city with precision and embellished its gates. He added new palaces to those in which his father dwelt. It would perhaps require too long a narrative to describe their eminent height and splendor. He drew up the estuary of Armacles from the Euphrates and dug up a lake of Acrocranos forty cubits feet in circumference and twenty cubits deep, and made for it a water gate to irrigate the plains. He had a canal dug up from the Red Sea (most likely the Persian Gulf). He built the city of Teridon at the entrance of Arabia, and adorned the royal palace with trees and gardens which were considered one of the Seven Wonders of the World" (The Hanging Gardens).²⁴¹⁵

After a lengthy narrative, he (Polyhistor) said that Nebuchadnezzar appeared to be mightier than Hercules. He invaded Nubia and Iberia and destroyed them, and evicted the people of the south via the sea. He proudly said, "Is not this the great Babylon I have built for the glory of my majesty?" as it is written in the Book of Daniel (4:30). The Babylonians, however, said that when Nebuchadnezzar went up to the royal palace, one of the gods held him and said, "Babylonians! I tell you that I am Nebuchadnezzar. Wait and see the degradation which will befall you." They realized that the demon that possessed him was a god.²⁴¹⁶

In order not to be lost in mazes, we shall be satisfied with these few words from the books of Polyhistor and Josephus to make our path clear. Our intention is to show that since the time of Cyrus the Persian, the kingdom used our language and handwriting. This is attested to by Dionysius Tell Mahre (d. 845), who said, "The two brothers Syros and Cilicos quarreled during the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt. Cilicos moved to the region in the mountain known today as Ukomo (The Black Mountain), and it

²⁴¹⁴ There are some differences between Michael's account and that of Polyhistor. According to Polyhistor the Babylonian King Marduk Baladan was killed by a certain Elbius who ruled in his place. Upon invading Babylon, Sennacherib captured Elbius and his associates and sent them to his country Athor (Assyria). Michael calls Elbius as Sarnilibos. See *The Account of Polyhistor in Berossos and Manetho, Introduced and Translated* by Gerald P. Verbrugge and John M. Wickersham (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996), 52-54; Bedrosian, *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5; Pearse, *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9 and Karst, *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

²⁴¹⁵ Michael Rabo quotes the Syriac version of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, who in turn reproduced this narrative from the *History of Babylon* by Berossos, the fourth century B.C., Babylonian writer who wrote in Greek, and from Abydenes who most likely used the *History of India* by the Greek writer Megasthenes (350-290 B.C.) See *Berossos and Manetho, Introduced and Translated* by Gerald P. Verbrugge and John M. Wickersham, 58-59; Bedrosian, *Ibid.*, p. 7-9; Pearse, *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14, and Karst, pp. 9-10, and "Flavius Josephus Against Apion, Book 1," in *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, translated by William Whiston, section 19, pp. 792-793. On this last page, Josephus mentions Magasthenese.

²⁴¹⁶ This whole episode comes from the Greek writer Megasthenes as quoted by Abydenes, a Greek historian (350-290 B.C.) who wrote *The Indian History*, and was quoted by Polyhistor and Josephus and later by Eusebius from whom Michael Rabo took it. See Bedrosian, *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7; Pearse, *Ibid.*, pp. 12-31; Karst, pp. 8-9. Josephus credits Megasthenes for saying that the king of the Babylonians (Nebuchadnezzar) was superior to Hercules in strength and the greatness of his exploits, for he conquered a great part of Libya and conquered Iberia also. See *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, translated by William Whiston, 793.

was called Cilicia after his name. Syrus remained in the region west of the Euphrates, and it was called Syria after his name. It was greatly divided and many kings arose in it and were called Syrians. The Roman kings (emperors) themselves were called Syrians. It is mentioned in the Septuagint that Bar (Ben) Hadad, king of the Syrians, ruled over Samaria. In addition, the servants of the king of Syria said unto their master, "Their gods are gods of the hills."²⁴¹⁷ The king of Israel said unto his servants, "Know ye that Ramoth in Gilead is ours, and we be still, and take it not out of the hand of the king of Syria?"²⁴¹⁸ It is evident from this context, that Syria is situated to the west of the Euphrates, and that all of those who spoke our Aramaean language were called Aramaeans because they are a part of the total. The rest dwelt east of the Euphrates, that is, from the Euphrates to Persia. In this region arose several kings. In Athor arose Bel, Ninnus, and others who succeeded them. In Babylon was Nebuchadnezzar who spoke Aramaic (Syriac) with the magicians whom he summoned to interpret his dream. In Edessa arose kings from the Abgar clan, and from the Arabs the kings from the clan of Sanatrouq. We say this to make clear that the people who lived west of the Euphrates are, in truth, Syrians, and that Orhoi (Edessa) is the origin of this language (Syriac). Therefore, there is no validity to the claim that no kings were set up from these people. It is manifest that the Chaldean and Assyrian kings were from these people who were called Syrians. They total one hundred ninety-four kings, ten of whom were before the Flood, seventy-six after the Flood and forty after the Medes. Forty-five kings were set up in Nineveh and twenty-three kings of the dynasty of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar after the Persians. We have gathered these names from as many books as much as possible. As we have promised earlier, we shall explain the reasons that these names are lost in this book of ours. Here are those reasons:

The Persian kingdom established by Cyrus, put an end to the ancient kingdoms which came before it. In addition, this kingdom itself ceased when Alexander (the Great) killed Darius (III). In fact, the Asiatic nations were subject to the Persians for two hundred and thirty-one years. Later, Alexander added the period of the Seleucids and Antiochus, who were called the kings of Syria, and which extended for two hundred twenty-two years until the reign of Gaius and Augustus.²⁴¹⁹ In their time appeared Christ the Savior and Son of God, and the kings from our own people would have ceased for five hundred and fifty years. However, when the teaching of the Gospel shone forth, these people (the Syrians) adopted it with anxiousness. With avid divine zeal, they burned by fire the entire books that contained the chronicles of their kings, because they were connected with the names and generations of the demonic paganism of these kings. For this reason, they entirely overlooked these books like someone who turns away from a foul smell. They burned them by fire in order not to preserve their memory for their posterity and future generations. In this context we are reminded of the Act of the Apostles where it is said, "Many of them who practiced sorcery brought their costly books together, and burned them at the feet of the apostles."²⁴²⁰ In fact, in many places and for many generations after the epiphany of the Lord, the fathers were wont to burn down every folio containing chronicles of the pagans and their gods. Hence is the absence of the names of pagan kings from our books. Our people (the Syrians) followed Jesus Christ and rejected the error of heathenism. This is also why they considered the victorious Constantine as the first Christian king because he believed and was baptized in the name of Christ. This was also true of all the Orthodox Christian kings who came after Constantine. Those kings, who deviated from Orthodoxy, were considered aliens. Accordingly, we do not pride ourselves for having no secular states, but take pride in Christ whose kingdom is not from this world.

We have written this against the arrogant and braggart Greeks who, when they saw that our holy fathers had distanced themselves from them because they deviated too much from Christ, tried to deceive the simple people by their prating and raving and claiming that no leader had been raised from our people.

²⁴¹⁷ 1 Kings 20-23, of the King James version.

²⁴¹⁸ 1 Kings 22:4 of King James version.

²⁴¹⁹ This might give the impression that Gaius and Augustus are two different men. This is not so. Augustus, the first Roman *princeps*, was born Gaius Octavius in 63 B.C. When Julius Caesar was assassinated in 44 B.C., he (Augustus) changed his name into Gaius Julius Caesar. In 27 B.C., he was granted the title of Augustus. He reigned between 31 B.C. and 14 A.D. See Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1985), 9.

²⁴²⁰ Acts 19:19.

They also bragged that everything contained therein was taken from their books because they had not yet deserted paganism completely. However, Saint Gregory the theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) bears testimony that they derived the life stories of their pagan fathers from those books. Moreover, Eusebius (of Caesarea) proved from their own books the veracity of what we have written. Also, our father Jacob of Edessa (d. 708), based on their books, proved the rise of mighty kingdoms from these people (the Syrians) who conquered all other nations of that time. Today, as we reject their (the Greeks) error, we hold on to Christ the king of all. We beseech him, to rest by his grace the Patriarch Mor Michael in peace, who compiled this book and forgive everyone who may read or copy it, and remember me (the copyist Michael of 'Urbish) in his prayer. And he himself may receive the grace of our Lord and the forgiveness of sins, forever and ever. Yes and Amen

By the grace of the Lord of all, we append the names of the patriarchs who were set up in our Orthodox Church one after the other beginning with the blessed Sawera (Severus) until our time

1. Sawera (Severus), from the Monastery of Theodore in Gazza, was ordained in November 832 (A.D. 512), at a council attended by twelve bishops by the laying on of hands of Abraham, bishop of Aleppo in the time of King (Emperor) Anastasius. He served in Syria for six years. When the Orthodox king (Anastasius) died, the heretics (Chalcedonians) turned against Severus in the time of Justin (Emperor Justin 1, 450-527). He left Antioch in September 829 of the Greeks (A.D. 518). During his persecution (sojourn in Egypt), he served the patriarchate for twenty-nine years. He died in February (538) in the city of Sakha in Egypt, and his holy body was interred in his monastery.
2. After the death of Severus, the Orthodox, Sergius of Tella from the Monastery of Dahla was ordained a patriarch of Antioch by the laying on of hands of Iyawannis, metropolitan of Anazarba.
3. Paul Ukomo (the Black), from the Monastery of Gubba Baraya (The Outer Pit Monastery), was ordained in this same monastery by the laying on of hands of Tuma, metropolitan of Edessa. He was deceived by (Emperor) Justinian (Justinian 1, 527-565) and entered into communion with the Chalcedonians hoping that they would renounce the Council of Chalcedon. When the king (emperor) reneged on his oaths, Paul condemned the council, but the Orthodox did not accept him.
4. Peter of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), was ordained, while Paul was still living, by the laying on of hands of Joseph, metropolitan of Amid. He straightened out the deviation of Damian the Alexandrian. He died in 902 of the Greeks (A.D. 591) and was buried in the Gubba Baraya Monastery
5. Julian was a syncellus of the patriarch. He was from the Monastery of Qinnesrin in which he was also ordained by the laying on of hands of John, bishop of Tella. He served the patriarchate for three years.
6. Athanasius Gamolo from Samosata, studied at the Monastery of Qinnesrin and in it was ordained by the laying on of hands of Severus, metropolitan of Jerusalem. He achieved union between the patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria. He served forty-five years and passed away in 946 (A.D. 635) and was buried in the Gomoye (Gomites) monastery.²⁴²¹
7. John, syncellus of Patriarch Athanasius from the Gubba Baraya Monastery. He was ordained by the laying on of hands of Abraham, metropolitan of Nisibin. He served the patriarch nicknamed, "He of the Sedros" for eleven years. He died in the Monastery of Mor Z'ura in Amid on December 14, 960 (A.D. 649).
8. Theodore from the Scete wilderness. He was called from the Monastery of Qinnesrin and ordained by the laying on of hands of Abraham, metropolitan of Homs. He served the patriarchate for eighteen years.

²⁴²¹ According to Patriarch Aphram I Barsoum, Athanasius died in 631. See *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 318.

9. Severus known as Bar Mashqa from the Monastery of Phigum (Euspholis) was ordained by the laying on of hands of Yuhanon Bar Ebraye, Metropolitan of Tarsus. Conflict was stirred up between him and the bishops. He served for twelve years.
10. Athanasius from the Great Monastery of Beth Malke was ordained during the assembling of the council at the Monastery of Euspholis in Rish 'Ayna by the laying on of hands of Hananya, bishop of Mardin and Kafartuta. He served three years.
11. Julian from the Monastery of Qinnessin was ordained in November 999 (A.D. 688), in Amid by the laying on of hands of Athanasius, bishop of Sarug. He served twenty years and died in 1019 (A.D. 708).
12. Iliyya (Elijah) of the Gubba Baraya Monastery was a bishop of Euphemia. After serving the episcopate for eight years, he was summoned to become a patriarch in 1020 (A.D. 719). He served for fifteen years, died on October 3 at the age of eighty-two, and was buried in his monastery.
13. Athanasius from the Gubba Baraya Monastery was ordained in April 1035 (A.D. 726). He was abbot of his monastery. He was ordained at the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel Monastery) by the laying on of hands of Theodosius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna. He made union with the Armenians. He served fifteen years and died in 1051 (A.D. 740).
14. Iyawannis, was a bishop of Hawran. He was elected by ballot by means of Athanasius Sandeloio (the Cobbler), from whom the patriarch suffered immensely. He served ...(lacuna)... years and was buried at the village of Kadya on the bank of the Euphrates.
15. Athanasius Sandeloio was a metropolitan of Miyafarqat. He became a patriarch by order of Abu Ja'far, the Muslims' caliph and not by God's call. He was strangled when he came to Harran.
16. The Blessed Gewargi (George). He was called (to become patriarch) while he was still a deacon. He was ordained at Mabug (Manbij) during the meeting of a general council. He was opposed by wicked men like Yuhanon of Callinicus (al-Raqqa) and Dawud (David) of Dara, and was imprisoned in Baghdad for nine years. He served thirty years and then died. His holy body was interred in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum.

From this point on, we shall record the names of the bishops who were ordained by each patriarch:

Patriarch Quryaqus (Cyriacus) from the Pillar Monastery in Callinicus (al-Raqqa) was ordained a patriarch on August 18, 1110 (A.D. 799), by the laying on of hands of Theodosius, bishop of Ba'lbak. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Sharbil who became a bishop of Takrit by proxy
2. Philoxenus, bishop of Jurjan
3. Melchizedeck, bishop of Rasafa in the village of Hazza
4. Constantine, bishop of Duluk (Doliche) in the village of Tal'ada
5. Tuma, bishop of Dara, from the Monastery of Quba
6. Hananya, bishop of Mardin and Kafartuta, from the Monastery of Callinicus (al-Raqqa) believed to have built the Za'faran Monastery
7. Tuma, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery Qartmin... and in the Pillar Monastery
8. Yuhanon, bishop of Miyafarqat, in the village of Sehartat in the district of Harran
9. Yuhanon, bishop of the city of the Shu'ub (people), from the Pillar Monastery
10. Bulus, bishop of Aphra in Khurasan was ordained in the village of Kadya in Harran
11. Cyriacus, bishop of the Qaramanoye, in the city of Edessa
12. David, bishop of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel Monastery), was ordained in Edessa
13. Basilius, bishop of Edessa, was ordained in the Monastery of Yuhanon (John) Bar Aphtonya
14. Habib, metropolitan of Euphemia, was ordained in Damascus
15. Anastasius, bishop of Tell Mawzalt, which is not in the district of al-Sham (Damascus)

16. Basilius, bishop of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), was ordained in the same city
17. Jacob, bishop of Cercegium, was ordained in the Monastery of Mor Zakai
18. Athanasius, bishop of Tarsus, was ordained in the city of Harran
19. Theodosius, bishop of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), was ordained in the city of Harran
20. Gabriel, bishop of Rish Kipha, was ordained in the town or Muraiba in Harran
21. Yuhanon, bishop of the Qaramanoye, was ordained in the village of Kafarhan in the district of Rish Kipha
22. Athanasius, bishop of Calonicia in Armenia
23. Yuhanon, bishop of the Armenian city of Khilat in the district of Callinicus (al-Raqqa)
24. Saba, bishop of the city of Arzen, was ordained in the Pillar Monastery in Harran
25. Li'azar, bishop of Nisibin from the Monastery of Qartmin, was ordained in the Pillar Monastery
26. Shimon (Simon), bishop of the city of Marw (Marv) from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
27. Ayyub (Job), bishop of Mopsuestia in Cyrus, was ordained in February and deposed in February
28. Timothy, metropolitan of Jerusalem, was ordained in the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Cyrus
29. David, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs) in the Jazira of Mosul, was ordained for the See of the Taghlibites in the village of Daqla (Palm Tree)
30. Matta, bishop of Tell Mawzalt, was ordained in Phiman of Sarug
31. Damian, bishop of Sarug, was ordained in the village of Mashra in the same district (of Sarug)
32. Philoxenus, bishop of Nisibin
33. Daniel, bishop of Samosata, was ordained in the city of Harran
34. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Bit Qum
35. Jacob, bishop of the district of Derij
36. Cyril, bishop of Samosata, was ordained in Kafra
37. Gabriel, bishop of Tarsus, from the Monastery of Mor Solomon
38. Anastasius, bishop of Rish Kipha, from the Monastery of Shila
39. Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of the city of Hadath, was ordained in the Pillar Monastery in Callinicus (al-Raqqa)
40. Elisha, bishop of Karma and the Hassasites in Takrit
41. Iyawannis, bishop of Sharzoul, in the region of Takrit
42. Shimon (Simon), metropolitan of Takrit
43. Gewargi (George), bishop of the city of Adra' from the Monastery of the Tayoye (Arabs)
44. Sergius, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
45. Uthman, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs) in the Jazira
46. Ignatius, bishop of Anazarba, from the Natfo (Qatra) Monastery
47. Yuhanon, bishop of Homs, from the Monastery of Bir Qum
48. Arabi, bishop of Theodosiopolis (Rish 'Ayna), from the Sena Monastery
49. Shlemon (Solomon), metropolitan of Cyrus, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
50. Maqim, bishop of Cercegium, from the Monastery of Tella
51. Habib, bishop of the region of Arguna, from the Monastery of Sarmin
52. Dionysius, bishop of Tella, from the Monastery of Mor Tuma
53. Shimon (Simon), bishop of Arabia, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
54. Theodosius, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of the Easterners
55. Theodore, bishop of Kesum, from the monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
56. Li'azar, bishop of Gishra, from the Monastery of Mor Abhai
57. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Mor Atonos
58. Shimon (Simon), bishop of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Abin
59. Theodosius, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of Qinnestrin
60. Peter, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon of Dara
61. Sergius, bishop of Ba'lbak, from Phsilta Monastery

62. Daniel, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of the Tayoye (Arabs)
63. Jacob, bishop of the town of Orim, from the Monastery of Mor Joseph
64. Gewargi, bishop of the city of Samosata
65. Tiberius, bishop of Aphra in Khurasan, from the Monastery of the Cross
66. Basilius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Phinehas
67. Yuhanon (John), bishop of the city of Qardu, from the Great Monastery of Hasmi
68. Gewargi, bishop of Harran, who later resigned
69. Gabriel, bishop of Great Armania, from the Monastery of Mor Shila
70. Habib, metropolitan of the city of Tarsus
71. Evagrius Akhsnaya, bishop of Arda't in Bithynia
72. Isaac, bishop of the city of Tiberias and not the bishop of Gomya
73. Yuhanon, bishop of the city of Tella, from the Qarqafta (the Skull) Monastery
74. Methodius, bishop of Tell Besme (Talbsam), from the Monastery of Mor Atonos
75. Gewargi, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Phinehas
76. Basilius, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Monastery of Mor Sergius
77. Addai, bishop of Karma, from the Monastery of Mor Z'ura in Sarug
78. Ezekiel, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
79. Gabriel, bishop of Great Armania, from the Monastery of Qartmin
80. Ignatius, bishop of Mardin and Kafartuta, from the monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery)
81. Gewargi, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Qartmin
82. Tuma, bishop of Rish Kipha, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
83. Iyawannis, bishop of Balish, from Rasafa and the Monastery of Mor Hananya in the same district
84. David, bishop of Garbous, from the monastery of Mor Joseph
85. Theophile, bishop of Zubatra, from the Monastery of Mor Elisha

Mor Cyriacus administered the patriarchate for twenty-four years. He died in Mosul in 1128 of the Greeks (A.D. 817). May his prayer and the prayers of those who he ordained, be with us. Amen.

Patriarch Dionysius, known as Tell Mahroyo (Tell Mahre), was summoned from the Monastery of Qinnasrin. He was ordained on Sunday, at the beginning of August 1129 (A.D. 818) in the city of al-Raqqa (Callinicus) in an assembly of forty-three bishops, with the laying on of hands of Theodosius, metropolitan of al-Raqqa. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Tuma, bishop of Arda't, from the Great Tal'ada Monastery
2. Habib, bishop of Beth Balish, from the Gubba Baraya Monastery
3. Sawera (Severus), bishop of the city of Dara, from the Monastery of Quba
4. Joseph, bishop of Beth Parsoye (Persia), from the monastery of Souqin
5. Basilius, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Qinnasrin
6. Habib, bishop of Germanicia (Mar'ash), from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
7. Constantine, bishop of Khurasan, from the Monastery of Qinnasrin
8. Sergius, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from Muraiba
9. Simon, bishop of Sarug, from Kafartuta
10. Yuhanon, bishop of Arabia, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
11. Yunan (Jonah), bishop of the city of Arzen, from the Monastery of Shasrani
12. Yuhanon, bishop Tadmur (Palmyra), from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
13. Ayyub (Job), metropolitan of Jerusalem
14. Tuma, bishop of Zarang, from the Monastery of Qartmin
15. Tuma, bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon (Solomon)
16. Daniel bishop of Melitene, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum

17. Anastasius, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Qarqafta
18. Hananya, bishop of Qinnesrin, from the Monastery of Naphshuthe (the Souls)
19. Gabriel, bishop of Irenopolis
20. Jacob, bishop of Duluk (Doliche), from the Monastery of Tal'ada
21. Li'azar, bishop of Arsamosata, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
22. Abraham, bishop of Gishra (the Bridge), from the Monastery of Qartmin
23. Sergius, bishop of Cyrus, from the Gubba Baraya Monastery
24. Mikha'il (Michael), bishop of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Cyrus
25. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Sarmin
26. Denha, bishop of Rish Kipha, from the Monastery of Euspholis
27. Iyawannis, Metropolitan of the city of Dara, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
28. Hananya, bishop of Qallisura, from the Qatra Monastery
29. Yuhanon (John) bishop of Armania, from the Monastery of Sandeloio in the region of Miyafarqat
30. Constantine, bishop of Laodicea, from the Monastery of Sariga
31. Theodosius, bishop of Germania, from the Monastery of Bizma
32. Athanasius, metropolitan of Euphemia, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
33. Ignatius, bishop of Arsamosata, from the Monastery of Qartmin
34. Quriqa, bishop of Hanzit, from the Monastery of Qartmin
35. Yuhann, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs), from the Monastery of Qarqafta
36. Simon, bishop of Tell Besme (Talbsam), from the Monastery of Sandeloio
37. Ignatius, bishop of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Bizona
38. Timothy, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of the Easterners
39. Ignatius, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Qartmin
40. Samuel, bishop of the Qarmanians, from the Monastery of Qartmin
41. Timothy, bishop of Damascus, from the Monastery of Qarqafta
42. Reubel, bishop of Joniah, from the Monastery of Euspholis
43. Tuma, bishop of Halbun, from the Monastery of Mor Musa
44. Tuma, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs), from the Monastery of Bir Qum
45. Abraham, bishop of Hanra, from the Monastery of the Easterners
46. Iyawannis, bishop of Tella, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
47. Abraham, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
48. Daniel, bishop of Takrit, from the Monastery of Bir Qum
49. Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Duluk (Doliche), from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon (Solomon)
50. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Gishra from the Monastery of Mor Basus
51. Yuhanon, bishop of Baghdad, from the Monastery of Eusebuna
52. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Hanra, from the Monastery of Mor Shina
53. Abraham, bishop of Arabia, from the Great Monastery of Tal'ada
54. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Tiberias, from the Monastery Kesum
55. Tomriqa, bishop of Qinnesrin, from the monastery of Naphshothe in Aleppo
56. Yuhanon, bishop of Duluk, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
57. Gewargi, bishop of Bahrain, From the Valley of Adam
58. Theophile, bishop of Tell Besme (Talbsam), from the Monastery of Sandeloio
59. Joseph Marzuq, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs)
60. Bar Hadh Bshabo, bishop of Jurjan, from the Monastery of the Easterners
61. Tuma, bishop of Zubatra, from the Monastery of the Easterners
62. Cyril, bishop of Edessa, from the Monastery of Zuqnin
63. Yuhanon Gdodo, bishop of Kenisa
64. Tomriqa, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
65. Abraham, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Monastery of Mor Joseph

BOOK TWENTY-ONE

66. Anastasius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna, from the Monastery of Qartmin
67. Josephus, bishop of Jurjan, from the Monastery of the Easterners
68. Joseph, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Bizona
69. Tuma, bishop of Melitene, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
70. Tuma, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Mountain of Edessa
71. Isaac, bishop of the Bees
72. Gabriel, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon (Solomon)
73. Abraham, metropolitan of Cyrus, from the Monastery of the Tayoye (Arabs)
74. Bacchus, bishop of Armenia, from Valley Adam
75. Habib, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs), from the Monastery of Knushia
76. Gewargi, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Sandeloio
77. Iliyya (Elijah) Zaqno, bishop of Qardu
78. Constantine, bishop of Ceresium
79. Gabriel, bishop of Kenisa, from the Monastery of Rabin (Raphine)
80. Sergius, bishop of Sijistan, from the Monastery of Tal'ada
81. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, who is the musician Sandeloio
82. Abraham, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from the Monastery of Bizona
83. Abraham, bishop of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
84. Rabban Benjamin, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
85. Theodore, bishop of Gishra, from the Monastery of Mor Abi
86. Demit, bishop of Qardu, from the Monastery of Mor Basus
87. Sabro, bishop of Arabia, from the Monastery of Ato
88. Sawera (Severus), metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
89. Iliyya (Elijah), metropolitan of Edessa, from the Mountain of Edessa
90. Nonnus, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
91. Gabriel, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
92. David, bishop of Aphra, from the Mountain of Edessa
93. Tuma, bishop of Kesum, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
94. Basilius, bishop of Tella, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
95. Gewargi, bishop of Hadath, from the Gubba Baraya Monastery
96. Gregorius, bishop of Kesum, from the Monastery of Bir Qum
97. Zechariah, bishop of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
98. Georgius, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs)
99. Yunan (Jonah), bishop of Jurjan, from the Monastery of Mor Shila
100. Constantine, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of Qinnésrin

Mor Dionysius Tell Mahre administered the patriarchate for twenty-seven years, and ordained the above bishops. He passed away on August 1156 (A.D. 845), and was buried in the Monastery of Qinnésrin. May God, by his prayer and the prayers of those he ordained, forgive our sins.

Patriarch Yuhanon (III) from the Monastery of Mor Zakai in Callinicus (al-Raqqa) was ordained in the Monastery of Mor Shila in Sarug on November 21, 1158 of the Greeks (A.D. 847), by the laying on of hands of Habib, bishop of Tarsus. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Gabriel, metropolitan of Rasafa, abbot of the Monastery of Mor Zakai
2. Arabi, metropolitan of Samosata
3. Bar Hadh Bshabo, bishop of Hanzit, from the Monastery of Mor Shila
4. Yuhanon Tubana, bishop of Ceresium
5. Andrew, bishop of Sijistan, from the Monastery of Mor Matta (near Mosul)
6. Basilius, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum

7. Iliyya (Elijah), metropolitan of Cyrus, from the Monastery of the Easterners
8. Sergius, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of Sarigta (the Mat)
9. Harun (Aaron) bishop of Seleucia, from the Monastery of Abam
10. Iyawannis, bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Qartmin
11. Timothy, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Mor Shila
12. Harun (Aaron), bishop of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Atonos
13. David, bishop of Arsamosata, from the Monastery of Mor Musa
14. Yuhan (Jonah), bishop of Aphra, from the Monastery of Mor Atonos
15. Jacob, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Dehla
16. Harun (Aaron), bishop of Cercesium, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
17. Jacob, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs), from the Monastery of Bir Qum
18. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Akhzaqun, from the Monastery of Qartmin
19. Ahudemeh, bishop of the Ma'daye (Arabs) from Valley Adam
20. Stephen, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Tal'ada
21. Anastasius, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Monastery of Euspholis
22. Ignatius, bishop of Hadath, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
23. Harun (Aaron), bishop of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
24. Joseph, bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Mor Yusuf (Joseph)
25. Harun (Aaron), metropolitan of Cyrus, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
26. David, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Qartmin
27. Iyawannis, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Euspholis
28. Elisha, bishop of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Shlemon (Solomon)
29. Yuhanon, bishop of Kafartuta and Mardin, from the Monastery of Tell Safra
30. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Tella, from the Monastery of Mawdyone (Confessors)
31. Jacob, bishop of Kesum, from the monastery of Mor Shlemon (Solomon)
32. Theodosius, metropolitan of Euphemia, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
33. Habib, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
34. Basilius, metropolitan of Gishra, from the Monastery of the Easterners
35. Cyriacus, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the monastery of Mor Zakai
36. Sergius, bishop of Qinnestrin, from the Phsilta Monastery
37. Jacob, metropolitan of Hara, from the Monastery of Bir Qum
38. Theodore, bishop of Gishra, from the Monastery of Bir Qum
39. Isaiah, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Bizona
40. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Samosata and Hanzit, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
41. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Greater Tal'ada Monastery
42. Dionysius, metropolitan of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Naphshothe
43. Hananya, bishop of Tiberias, from the Monastery of Dehla
44. Daniel, bishop of Tell Besme (Talbsam), from the Monastery of Atanos
45. Daniel, bishop of Kafabella, from Adam Valley
46. Peter from Adam Valley
47. Samuel, metropolitan of Sijistan, from St. Matthew's Monastery
48. Melchizedek, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Monastery of the Mother of God
49. Abraham, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Mor Shimon (Simon)
50. Tiberius, bishop of Arabia, from the Mountain of Edessa
51. Habib, bishop of Qardu, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
52. Ignatius, bishop of Armenia, from Harbaz
53. Shlemon (Solomon), bishop of Najran and the Bani Ma'd, from the monastery of Knushia
54. Anthimus, bishop of Duluk (Doliche), from the Monastery of Bar Hadh Bshabo
55. Peter, bishop of Aphra, from Beth Yihidhoye (Solitaries) of the Edessan Mountain

BOOK TWENTY-ONE

56. Basilius, bishop of Cercesium, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
57. Bacchus, bishop of the Taghlibite Arabs from Adam Valley
58. Solomon, bishop of Damascus, from the Monastery of Mor Yunan (Jonah)
59. Ayyub (Job), bishop of Aphra, from the Monastery of Tell Safra in Harran
60. Noah, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Zuqnin
61. Iyawannis, bishop of Euphemia, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
62. Theodore, bishop of Rish 'Ayna, from the Monastery of Euspholis
63. Timothy, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
64. Athanasius Hakim, metropolitan of Dara
65. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
66. Cyril Noah, metropolitan of Jerusalem
67. Elisha, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
68. Isaac, metropolitan of Damascus, from the Monastery of Phsilta
69. Shimon (Simon), metropolitan of Mabug, from the Monastery of the Village of Saban
70. Shimon (Simon), bishop of Ba'lbak, from the Mountain of Edessa
71. Isaac, bishop of Sarug, from the Mountain of Edessa
72. Isaac, bishop of Cyrus, from the Edessan Mountain
73. Abraham, metropolitan of Hara, from the Mountain of Edessa
74. Athanasius, bishop of Qinnesrin, from the Monastery of Mor Phocas
75. Li'azar, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Monastery of the Easterners
76. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Arabia, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
77. Sergius Yihidhoyo (solitary), metropolitan of Takrit
78. Yuhanon, bishop of the Taghlibite Arabs, in the Jazira of Mosul
79. Yuhanon, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of the Qubines
80. Gabriel, bishop of Gishra, from the Monastery of the Easterners
81. Georgius, bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
82. Matta, bishop of Rish Kipha, from Beth Mawdyone (Confessors) of Edessa
83. Ignatius, bishop of Mardin, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
84. Stephen, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon

Patriarch Mor Yuhanon administered the patriarchate for twenty-seven years and ordained the above-mentioned bishops. He passed away on Thursday, December 23, 1185 of the Greeks (A.D. 874), and his body was transported to the Monastery of Mor Zakai.

Patriarch Ignatius from the Monastery of Harbaz was ordained in 1189 (A.D. 878) by the laying on of hands of Timothy, bishop of Samosata in a cell of a renowned hermit on the bank of the Euphrates. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Rish Kipha from the Monastery of Akhsnaya
2. Abraham, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Bar Hadh Bshabo
3. Sergius, bishop of Cyrus, from the Monastery of Li'azar in Harran
4. Cyriacus, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon of Dara
5. Abraham, metropolitan of Aleppo, from the Mountain of Edessa
6. Yuhanon, bishop of Germanicia (Mar'ash), from the Monastery of Zuqnin
7. Mikha'il, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Atonos
8. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Mor Sergius
9. Abraham, bishop of Cercesium, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
10. Iliyya (Elijah) bishop of Hadath, from the Monastery of Mor Sawera (Severus)
11. Shimon (Simon), bishop of Zubatra, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
12. Cyril, bishop of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin

13. Gabriel, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of the Mother of God in the wilderness
14. Jacob, bishop of Ba'lbak, from the Monastery of Phsilta
15. Cyriacus, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon (Solomon)
16. Constantine, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Qartmin
17. Harun (Aaron), metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
18. Gabriel, bishop of Arabia, from the Monastery of Siban
19. Matta, metropolitan of Dara, from the Monastery of Yuhanon of Dara
20. Iyawannis, bishop of Abdiqu, from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon in Duluk
21. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Sijistan, from the Monastery of Tell Safra in Harran
22. Sawera Severus), metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
23. Theodosius, bishop of Daula, from the Monastery of Qinnestrin
24. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from the Mountain of Edessa
25. Yuhanon, bishop of Duluk from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
26. Sawera (Severus), metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Zuqnin

Patriarch Ignatius administered the patriarchate for five years. He died on Tuesday of Passion Week at Muraiba, and his body was interred in its Great Church.

Patriarch Theodosius from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel) was ordained in Amid on Sunday, February 5, 1198 (A.D. 887), by the laying on of hands of Timothy, bishop of Samosata. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Athanasius, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Mountain of Edessa
2. Ayyub (Job), metropolitan of Harah, from the Monastery of Tell Safra in Kesum
3. Dionysius, metropolitan of Euphemia, from the Monastery of the Mother of God
4. Cyril, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Zuqnin
5. Dionysius, bishop of Tella, from the Monastery of Qartmin
6. Ezekiel, bishop of Melitene, from the Monastery of Atanos
7. Daniel, metropolitan of Damascus
8. Denha, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Mor Shila
9. Gewargi, bishop of Cercesium, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon (John) of Dara
10. Gabriel, metropolitan of Tiberias, from the Monastery of Tar'il
11. Mikha'il, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from the Monastery of Bizona
12. Jacob, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Mountain of Edessa
13. Ignatius, metropolitan of Aphra in Khurasan, from the Mountain of Edessa
14. Ezekiel, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
15. Silvanus, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Bar Hadh Bshabo
16. Basilius, bishop of the Armenians
17. Yunan (Jonah), bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Qartmin
18. Habib, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Sergius
19. Shimon (Simon), bishop of Tell Besme (Talbsam), from the monastery of Atanos
20. Habib, metropolitan of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Naphshothe in the Mountain of Edessa
21. Yuhanon, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of the Hbosh (the cloistered)
22. Li'azar, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Great Monastery of Samosata
23. Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Gishra from the recluses of the Mountain of Edessa
24. Habib, bishop of Kesum, from the Mountain of Edessa
25. Basilius, bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Siagta
26. Matta, bishop of the city of Tella, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
27. Tuma, bishop of Cercesium, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
28. Tuma, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Zuqnin

BOOK TWENTY-ONE

29. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Dara
30. Jacob, bishop of the Najdites
31. Habib, bishop of Irenopolis
32. Sergius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)

Patriarch Theodosius administered the patriarchate for nine years and four months. He passed away on June 4, 1207 (A.D. 896), at the Monastery of Qartmin.

Patriarch Dionysius from the Monastery of Beth Batin was ordained on April 23, 1208 (A.D. 897), by the laying on of hands of Jacob, metropolitan of Homs. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Theodosius, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Mountain of Edessa
2. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Monastery of Euspholis
3. Timothy, metropolitan of Damascus, from the Monastery of Mor Atanos
4. Yuhanon, bishop of the Tribes (Arabs), from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
5. Jacob, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Tal'ada
6. Ignatius, metropolitan of Qinnesrin, from the Monastery of Eusebuna
7. Yuhanon, bishop of Zubatra, from the Monastery of Mor Simon
8. Yuhanon, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Mor Sawera (Severus)
9. Daniel, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Harbaz
10. Cyriacus, bishop of Ba'lbak, from the Monastery of Yuhanon (John) of Dara
11. Gabriel, bishop of Cyrus, from the Great Monastery
12. Isaac, metropolitan of Herat, from the Great Monastery in the region of Tella
13. Philoxenus, metropolitan from the Monastery of Shina
14. Dioscorus, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of Harbaz
15. Habib, bishop of Irenopolis
16. Samuel, bishop of Miyafarqat
17. Abraham, metropolitan of Aphra, from the Monastery of Euspholis
18. Isaac, bishop of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
19. Yuhanon, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
20. Ayyub (Job), bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Qartmin
21. Theodosius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna
22. Cyril, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Monastery of Bizona
23. Theophile, bishop of Zubatra, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
24. Daniel, bishop of Armania
25. Gregorius, metropolitan of Callinicus and native of the city
26. Jacob, bishop of Abdiquin, from the Monastery of Beth Batin
27. Abraham, bishop of the city of Daula
28. Cosmas, bishop of Hadath
29. Peter, bishop of Rasafa from the Mountain of Edessa
30. Jacob, bishop of Tiberias, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob of Sarug
31. Musa, bishop of Amid, from the Monastery Amalina
32. Sergius, bishop of Hadath, from the Mountain of Edessa,
33. Yuhanon, bishop of Mardin, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
34. Timothy, bishop of Cercesium
35. Anastasius, bishop of Abdiquin in Khurasan
36. Athanasius, metropolitan of Damascus
37. Athanasius, metropolitan of Tarsus
38. Theodoret, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Tella
39. Gabriel, metropolitan of Euphemia, from the Monastery of Bizona

40. Isaac, bishop of Armania, from Mar Mattai Monastery (St. Matthew's Monastery)
41. Jacob, bishop of Duluk, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
42. Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Melitene, from the Monastery of Beth Batin
43. Ignatius, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon
44. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Dara, from the same city
45. Ignatius, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Harbaz
46. Isaac, bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Elisha
47. Timothy, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Mor Simon
48. Basilius, bishop of Bithynia, from the Mountain of Edessa
49. Timothy, bishop of Edessa, from the Monastery of Rish 'Ayna
50. Joseph, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of Mor Saba

Mor Dionysius administered the patriarchate for thirteen years. He died on Tuesday of the Rest in April 1220 (A.D. 909), at the Monastery of Beth Batin, where his body was interred.

Patriarch Yuhanon from the Pillar Monastery in Qurzhil was ordained in the Monastery of Tell Safra in Harran on Saturday, June 21, 1221 (A.D. 910), by the laying on of hands of Yuhanon, metropolitan of Mar'ash. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Tuma, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Pillar Monastery in the Mountain of Edessa
2. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Herat
3. Denha, bishop of Kesum, from the Monastery Euspholis
4. Abraham, bishop of Duluk, from the Monastery of Nolaban
5. Joseph, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Monastery of Tabesh
6. Theodosius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat
7. Joseph, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from Damascus
8. Severus, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
9. Gabriel, bishop of Duluk (Doliche), from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
10. Ayyub (Job), bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of Bizona
11. Simon, bishop of Gishra, from the Monastery of the Pillar
12. Denha, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Church of Mor Tuma
13. Isaac, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Qurzhil in Harran
14. Stephen, bishop of Irenopolis
15. Jacob, bishop of the city of Zoghma
16. Tuma, bishop of Qinnasrin, from the Monastery of Siagta
17. Theodosius, bishop of the Najdites and the Taghlibite (Arabs), from the Monastery of the Pillar
18. Sergius, metropolitan of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
19. Harun (Aaron), bishop of Gishra, from the Monastery of Qinnasrin
20. Samuel, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
21. Theodosius, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Mor Atanos
22. Joseph, bishop of Arzen, archimandrite of the Monastery of Qartmin
23. Ignatius, bishop of Mardin, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
24. Musa, metropolitan of Damascus, from the Monastery of Shila
25. Anthimus, bishop of Rish Kipha
26. Constantine, bishop of the city of Tella
27. Isaac, metropolitan of Cyrus, from Qurzhil
28. Abraham, metropolitan of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Mor Simon
29. Li'azar, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
30. Dioscorus, bishop of Rish 'Ayna
31. Basilius, bishop of Cercesium

32. Yuhanon, bishop of Melitene, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
33. Bulus, bishop of Aphra, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
34. David, bishop of Zubatra, from the Monastery of Shlemon in Duluk (Doliche)
35. Ignatius, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Hisn Hamusa
36. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
37. Jacob, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the mountain of Edessa
38. Iyawannis, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Hisn Hamusa
39. Habib, bishop of Tella, from the Monastery of Qurzhil
40. Cyriacus, bishop of Bithynia, from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon
41. Severus, bishop of Tell Besme, from the Monastery of Atanos

Patriarch Yuhanon administered the patriarchate for twelve years. He passed away on the last Saturday of November (1234- A.D. 923), at the Monastery of Euspholis in Rish 'Ayna, and was buried in the Monastery's Great Church

Patriarch Basilius from the Monastery of Euspholis in the town of Muraiba, was ordained on Friday August 15, which is the Festival of the Assumption of the Mother of God in the year 1234 (A.D. 923), by the laying on of hands of Mor Habib, bishop of Anazarba. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Cyriacus, metropolitan of Cyrus, from the same Monastery
2. Gregorius, metropolitan of Melitene and Claudia
3. Ignatius, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Bella
4. Theodosius, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij) from Arphania
5. Ayyub (Job), bishop of Abdiquin in Persia, from Edessa
6. Theodosius, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Mountain of Edessa
7. Simon, metropolitan of Hadath, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
8. Yuhanon, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
9. Stephen, bishop of Armania, from the Monastery of Mor Elisha
10. Ayyub (Job), metropolitan of Tiberias, from the monastery of Mor Zakai
11. Iyawannis, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
12. Gabriel, bishop of Dara, archimandrite of the Monastery of the Easterners
13. Yuhanon, bishop of Najdites and Ma'daye (Arabs), from the Monastery of Qarqafta (the Skull)
14. Athanasius, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya
15. Athanasius, bishop of the Tribes (Arabs), from the Monastery of Harbaz
16. Cyril, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Mountain of Edessa
17. Iyawannis, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
18. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Edessa
19. David, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Mor Shila.
20. Julius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Pillar Monastery
21. Athanasius, bishop of Ba'bak, archimandrite of the Monastery of Edessa
22. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
23. Ayyub (Job), bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Siagta
24. Dionysius, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Monastery of Mor Severus
25. Gregorius, bishop of Hadath, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon
26. Abraham, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon
27. Butrus (Peter), metropolitan of Sijistan, from the Mountain of Edessa
28. Sergius, bishop of Sarug from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
29. Iyawannis, bishop of Gishra, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
30. Irmia (Jeremiah), bishop of Hama, from the Monastery of Hisn Hamusa
31. Butrus (Peter), bishop of Mardin and Kafartuta, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya

32. Bulus, metropolitan of Herat, from the Mountain of Edessa

Patriarch Mor Basilius administered the patriarchate for eleven years and seven months. He passed away on Wednesday of Passion Week, April 25 at the Eastern Monastery. May his prayer and those whom he ordained be with us. Amen.

Patriarch Yuhanon (V) of the hermits of Turo d'Ukomo (The Black Mountain) was ordained in the village of Tal'ada in the district of Antioch on Sunday, August 28, 1227 (A.D. 916), by the laying on of hands of Mor Athanasius, metropolitan of Tarsus. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Basilius, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Monastery of Qartmin
2. Anastasius, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of Mor Simon
3. Jacob, metropolitan of Tiberias, from the Monastery of Mor Yunan (Jonah) in Damascus
4. Gregorius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna
5. Matta, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
6. Iyawannis, bishop of Daula
7. Abraham, bishop of Hadath, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
8. Iyawannis, bishop of Qastan, from the Monastery of Mor Elisha
9. Iyawannis, bishop of Duluk (Dolich), from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon
10. Habib, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
11. Basilius, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Qaqosin
12. Athanasius, metropolitan of Aphra, from the Monastery of Mor Daniel
13. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Cercesium, from the Monastery of Qartmin
14. Jacob, bishop of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Bizona
15. Timothy, bishop of Wastan
16. Athanasius, bishop of Aphra, from the Monastery of Euspholis
17. Ayyub (Job), bishop of Hamam and Kenisa
18. Sergius, metropolitan of Euphemia, from Bizona
19. Basilius, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon
20. Abraham, bishop of Armania, from the Monastery of Mor Sergius
21. Simon, bishop of Qinnasrin from the Great Monastery
22. Theodosius, bishop of Zubatra, from the Monastery of Mor Atonos
23. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Damascus, from the Monastery of Naphshothe (Souls) in Aleppo
24. Jacob, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
25. Athanasius, metropolitan of Samosata
26. Sawera Severus), bishop of Rish Kipha, from Bizona
27. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Anazarba
28. Ayyub (Job), metropolitan of Nisibin
29. Joseph, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
30. Stephen, bishop of Zubatra
31. Butrus (Peter), bishop of Claudia
32. Iyawannis, bishop of Sijistan
33. Ignatius, bishop of the country of Halys
34. Philoxenus, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Naphshothe
35. Abraham, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of the Pillar
36. Athanasius, bishop of Tarsus
37. Musa, bishop of Germanicia (Mar'ash)
38. David, metropolitan of Anazarba
39. Habib, metropolitan of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
40. Irmiya (Jeremiah), metropolitan of Tarsus

41. Athanasius, bishop of Anazarba
42. Ignatius, bishop of Tur Abdin
43. Jacob, bishop of Hama and Kenisa
44. Iyawannis, bishop of Wastan in Amid
45. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Melitene
46. Mikha'il, metropolitan of Dara
47. Irmiya (Jeremiah), metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Mountain of Edessa
48. Yuhanon, bishop of Qarnah

Mor Yuhanon administered the patriarchate seventeen years. He died on July 3, the festival of St. Thomas, and was buried in the vault of the venerable Mor Jacob of Edessa in the Great Monastery of Tal'ada.

Patriarch Iyawannis (John) from the Pillar Monastery in Qurzhil, was ordained in the village of Tal'ada in the year 1265 (A.D. 954), by the laying on of hands of Mor Jacob, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa). He ordained the following bishops:

1. Iliyya (Elijah), metropolitan of Melitene, from the Monastery of Zuqnin
2. Joseph, metropolitan of Damascus
3. Musa, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Mor Abhai
4. Basilius, bishop of Zubatra
5. Luke, bishop of Qarnah
6. Joseph, metropolitan of Nisibin
7. Musa, metropolitan of Arabiya
8. Simon, bishop of Aphra in Khurasan
9. Sergius, metropolitan of Ba'lbak
10. Jacob, metropolitan of Hisn Mansur (Semando)

Patriarch Iyawannis administered the patriarchate for two years. He passed away on the last Friday of January at the Monastery of Mor Shlemon in Duluk (Doliche).

Patriarch Dionysius, from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel), was ordained on November 28, 1269 (A.D. 958), by the laying on of hands of Mor Jacob, bishop of al-Raqqa (Callinicus). He ordained the following bishops:

1. Li'azar, metropolitan of Anazarba
2. Yuhanon, bishop of Zubatra from the Monastery of Qariro (the Cold, al-Barid)
3. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Damascus
4. Iyawannis, bishop of Mardin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
5. Theodosius, bishop of Aphra, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya
6. Dioscorus, metropolitan of Dara
7. Ezekiel, metropolitan of Melitene
8. Timothy, bishop of Cercesium

Patriarch Dionysius administered the patriarchate for two years. He died in June of the year 1272 (A.D. 961), at the Monastery of Qartmin, and was buried in the vault of Patriarch Mor Theodosius.

Patriarch Abraham, from the Monastery of Tar'il, was ordained in the year 1273 (A.D. 962), by the laying on of hands of Mor Ayyub (Job), bishop of Zoghma. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Tiberias, from Antioch
2. Cyriacus, metropolitan of Takrit, from the city of Aleppo

3. Constantine, metropolitan of Germanicia (Mar'ash)
4. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Tur Abdin from Tal'ada
5. Timothy, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Tar'il
6. Ignatius, bishop of Gishra, form the Monastery of Tar'il
7. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Callinicus, from the Monastery of Tar'il

Patriarch Abraham administered the patriarchate for ten months and passed away on March 4. He was buried by his master Anastasius, bishop of Aleppo. May their prayers be with us.

Patriarch Yuhanon (VII) from the Monastery of Tar'il, known as Sarigta (he of the saddle-cloth), because of his strict asceticism, was ordained on Sunday, July 9, 1276 (A.D. 965) at Kafar Nabu in the region of Sarug by the laying on of hands of Mor Sergius. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Yuhanon, bishop of Rish 'Ayna, from the Monastery of the Pillar
2. Ignatius, metropolitan of Amid
3. Theodosius, metropolitan of Damascus
4. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Herat
5. Timothy, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Qariro (The Cold) Monastery
6. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Mountain of Edessa
7. Ignatius, metropolitan of Melitene
8. Iyawannis, bishop of Tur Abdin
9. Basilius, bishop of Mardin
10. Iyawannis, bishop of Herat in Khurasan
11. Athanasius, bishop of Qallisura
12. Dionysius, bishop of Hadath
13. Iliyya (Elijah), metropolitan of Samosata
14. Sergius, bishop of Aleppo, from the Fountain of Phesqin
15. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Tiberias
16. Cyriacus, metropolitan of Sarug, from the Monastery of Segisiyya
17. Iyawannis, bishop of Germanicia (Mar'ash) from the Monastery of the wilderness
18. Ignatius, metropolitan of Dara, from the Monastery of Qartmin
19. Sergius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna, from the Monastery of Tell Batriq
20. Theophile, metropolitan of Damascus, from the Monastery of Mor Yunan (Jonah)
21. Timothy, metropolitan of Amid, from the Shagra of Mor Ahrun
22. Mikha'il, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
23. Theodosius, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Beth Batin
24. Basilius, metropolitan of Semando, from the Monastery of the Mother of God
25. Sergius, metropolitan of Euphemia, from the Monastery of Atonos
26. Simon, bishop of Zoghma and Gubbin, at the Qariro (Cold, al-Barid) River
27. Tuma, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Tar'il in Mar'ash
28. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Cyrus, from the Fountain of Phesqin
29. Cosmas, metropolitan of Rasafa, from the pillar of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in Sarug
30. Peter, bishop of Arzen, from Amid in the region of the Qariro (al-Barid) river
31. Ezekiel, metropolitan of Dara and Habura, from the monastery of Qartmin
32. Sergius, bishop of Qarnah, from the Fountain of Phesqin
33. Musa, bishop of the region of Claudia in Mar'ash
34. Basilius, bishop of Tiberias, from the village of Arnos
35. Cyriacus, bishop of Zubatra, from the Qariro (Barid) River in Mar'ash
36. Bulus, Bishop of Aphra, from the Fountain of Phesqin
37. Denah, bishop of Arsamosata, from (the Monastery of) Tabesh in Kesum

BOOK TWENTY-ONE

38. Zachariah, bishop of Sarug, from the River Qariro (al-Barid)
39. Basilius, bishop of Sijistan, from the Monastery of Sergius in Mar'ash
40. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon at the Qariro (Cold, al-Barid) River
41. Mikha'il, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon
42. Basilius, bishop of Sarug, from the Mountain of Edessa
43. Iyawannis, bishop of Hamam, from (the Monastery in) Tabesh in Kesum-Mar'ash
44. Butrus (Peter), bishop of Harran, from the Great Monastery in Mar'ash
45. Theodosius, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Monastery of Sergius and Bacchus
46. Samuel, bishop of Hamam, from the Monastery of Mor Phargisia in the country of Tagra

Patriarch Yuhanon administered the patriarchate for twenty-five years. He died at the Qariro (Cold, al-Barid) Monastery, and his body was buried in the church he had built.

Patriarch Athanasius (V) of Salah from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron) in Shagra was ordained on Thursday, October 27, 1298 (A.D. 987), in the village of Qutaine in the country of Jihan by the laying on of hands of Li'azar, metropolitan of Anazarba. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Bulus, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Monastery of Madiq
2. Andrew, metropolitan of Cyrus, from the Barid Monastery
3. Iyawannis, bishop of Arsamosata, from the Monastery of the Mother of God in Qallisura
4. Isaac, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Sergisiyya
5. Butrus (Peter), bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery Mor Barsoum
6. Iyawannis, bishop of Mardin, Rish 'Ayna and Kafartuta, from the Monastery of Sergisiyya
7. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Dara, from the Monastery of Qartmin
8. Christodolus, bishop of Ba'lbak, from the Monastery of Mor Yunan (Jonah) in Damascus
9. Cyril, bishop of Armania, from the Monastery of Mor Elisha
10. Musa, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of the Qariro (Barid) River
11. Basilius, metropolitan of Balish, from the district of Antioch
12. Timothy, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from the Monastery of Maurice
13. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Herat, from Amid and from the Monastery of Maurice
14. Gregorius, bishop of Birta (Bira), from the Monastery of Rahoto (courier, al-Sa'i) in Melitene
15. Musa, metropolitan of Callinicus, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon in Cyrus in Melitene
16. Philoxenus, bishop of the town of Tella, from the Monastery of the Forty of Bar Jaji in Melitene
17. Ignatius, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Monastery of the Forty of Bar Jaji in Melitene
18. Basilius, bishop of Arqa, from Baitoye in the Barid Monastery
19. Yuhanon, bishop of Zoghma, from the same Barid Monastery
20. Ignatius, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji
21. Dioscorus, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Mor Mama
22. Joseph, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
23. Tuma, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Mshar'o at the Barid River
24. Dionysius, the syncellus, bishop of Claudia
25. Timothy, bishop of Aphra, from the Monastery of Mshar'o
26. Yuhanon, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
27. Gabriel, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon
28. Theodosius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon
29. Iyawannis, bishop of Arsamosata from the Barid Monastery-Mor Demit
30. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij) and Gishra, from the Monastery of the Mother of God
31. Jacob, bishop of Ba'lbak, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon

32. Daniel, bishop of Armania, from the Monastery of Kipha of the Arzanians at the Barid River
33. Tuma, metropolitan of Tiberias, from St. Matthew's Monastery
34. Butrus, bishop of Arabisus, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
35. Abraham, bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of the Mother of God in the region of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
36. Yuhanon, bishop of Duluk (Doliche), from the Monastery of Mor Shina
37. Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Semando, from the Monastery of Mor Butrus
38. Ignatius, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum

Patriarch Athanasius administered the patriarchate for sixteen years. He passed away at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, and his holy body was interred at the burial chamber in the northern part of the ancient church. His prayer is with us.

Patriarch Yuhanon (VIII) Bar Abdun of Melitene, lived as a hermit in *Turo d' Ukomo* (The Black Mountain). He was ordained on Thursday, July 6, 1315 (A.D. 1004), at the Monastery of the Mother of God in Bunduqah in the region of Godfi, by the laying on of hand of Butrus (Peter), bishop of Harran. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Tuma, metropolitan of Samosata, from Turo d' Ukomo (The Black Mountain)
2. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Amid, student of the Monastery of Atonos
3. Severus, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Qartmin
4. Athanasius, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Monastery of Sergius and Bacchus
5. Ignatius, metropolitan of Melitene, from the Monastery of Qainan in Hadath
6. Athanasius, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the Monastery of Madiq
7. Yuhanon, metropolitan of the diocese of Hawran of Bithynia, from the Church of Tyre
8. Basilius, metropolitan of Herat, from the Monastery of Qartmin
9. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Hadath and Ra'ban, from the Monastery of Li'azar, bishop of Arqa
10. Abraham, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Sergisiyya
11. Butrus (Peter), metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the Monastery of Abdahar
12. Marutha, metropolitan of Tiberias, from the city of Balish
13. Simon, bishop of Shayzar, from the Monastery of Mashra'a
14. Basilius, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Abulhor
15. Isaac, bishop of Arqa, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji. He was syncellus of the patriarch, but later became Chalcedonian
16. Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Mor Julian
17. Matta, metropolitan of Sijistan, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya
18. Andrew, bishop of Kesum, from the Monastery of Tabesh
19. Basilius, metropolitan of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
20. Sergius, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of Mor Julian in Kesum
21. Yuhanon, bishop of Rish 'Ayna, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya
22. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Dara and Habura, from the Barid Monastery
23. Timothy, bishop of Qarna and Tell Arsanius, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
24. Simon, bishop of Tella and Laqbin, from the Monastery of Mor Demit
25. Cyril, bishop of Hamam, from the Monastery of the Mother of God in Anazarba
26. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Dara, from the Monastery of Mor Abai in Qilleth
27. Tuma, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of the Qariri (Barid) River
28. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Dashno (Sena) in Antioch
29. Theodosius, metropolitan of Damascus, from the Monastery of Sumoqo (Red) in Kharshana
30. Athanasius, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Monastery of the Mother of God
31. Basilius, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji

BOOK TWENTY-ONE

32. Abraham, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Monastery of Callinicus
33. Athanasius, metropolitan of Godfi in Kharshana, from the monastery of Ladders
34. Ignatius, bishop of Hamam, from the Monastery of Abulhor
35. Gregorius, bishop of Birta (Bira), from the Monastery of Harsafta
36. Cyril, metropolitan of Cyrus, from the Monastery of Mor Saba
37. Dionysius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Zarnuqa
38. Philothoes, metropolitan of Aphra, from the Monastery of Mor Mattai (St. Matthew's Monastery)
39. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji
40. Basilius, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Qartmin
41. Musa, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)
42. Athanasius Haya, bishop of Arsamosata, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)-Shaghr. Later, he became a patriarch
43. Iyawannis, bishop of Duluk (Doliche), from the Monastery of Abulhor
44. Abraham, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Monastery of Ladders
45. Dionysius, bishop of Tell Arsanius, from the Monastery of Ladders
46. Basilius, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
47. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Arzen, from the Monastery of Qartmin

The blessed (Bar Abdun) ordained more than these bishops whose names we have not put down, as we indicated in his life story above, because the Greeks seized him and banished him. He administered the patriarchate for twenty six years and was martyred in exile in the country of the Bulgarians on February 2, 1341 (A.D. 1030)

Patriarch Dionysius (IV) Yahya, superior of the Monastery of Li'azar in the region of Melitene, was ordained on Thursday, October 14, 1343 (A.D.1032), at the Monastery of Mor Demit in Claudia during the period of the Chalcedonians' persecution, by the laying on of hands of Mor Abraham, bishop of Qallisura. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Semando, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
2. Ignatius Isaiah, bishop of Birta (Bira), from Harsafta
3. Yuhanon, bishop of Arqa, from the Monastery of Tell Batriq
4. Gregorius Li'azar, bishop of Mar'ash
5. Athanasius, bishop of Jihan, from the Monastery Seraphion
6. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Melitene, from the Monastery of Mor Shina. Afterwards, he fled the persecution of the Greeks and settled in the Tayoye (Muslim) region of Amid.
7. Timothy, metropolitan of Balish, from the Monastery of Mor Atanos
8. Athanasius Yeshu, metropolitan of Edessa, the superior of the Monastery of Mor Abhai
9. Iyawannis, bishop of Ba'lbak from the same Monastery (of Mor Abhai)
10. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Buqa
11. Basilius, bishop of Hadath, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)
12. Iyawannis Zakka, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Abid
13. Cyril, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Qalaf
14. Yuhanon, bishop of Tella and Laqbin, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji
15. Iyawannis Barsoum, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji
16. Timothy, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)
17. Philoxenus, Methuselah, bishop of Mabug (Manbij), from Arslis
18. Metropolitan Mor Athanasius, from the Barid Monastery in Amid
19. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Herat, from the Monastery of the Persians
20. Mark, metropolitan of Aphra, from the Qariro (Barid) Monastery
21. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Herat, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji

22. Athanasius, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Qalaf
23. Basilius, bishop of Arqa, from the Monastery of Abulhor
24. Gregorius, metropolitan of Armania, from the Monastery of Mor Sergius
25. Timothy, metropolitan of Tiberias, from the Monastery of Zarnuqa
26. Basilius, metropolitan of Takrit in 1349 (A.D.1038)
27. Gregorius, metropolitan of Callinicus (Mar'ash), from the Monastery of Bar Jaji
28. Abraham, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Shaghro of Bar Jaji
29. Iyawannis, bishop of Cercesium, for the Barid Monastery
30. Ignatius, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Bushir
31. Yuhanon, bishop of Kesum, from the Monastery Mor Julian, the Red Monastery
32. Ignatius, metropolitan of Amid, from the same monastery
33. Bulus, bishop of Mardin, from the Monastery of Qartmin

Patriarch Haya served for ten years. He passed away on March 21, and his body was interned in the Great Church of Amid.

Patriarch Yuhanon (IX), of the Monastery of Bar Jaji, was a nephew of Patriarch Yuhanon Bar Abdun. He was ordained on Tuesday, 1353 (1042), in the region of Zoghma in Farzman on the borders of Ra'ban, by the laying on of hands of Mor Iliyya (Elijah), president of the council. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Yuhanon, bishop of Zubatra, whom he was compelled to ordain
2. Athanasius, bishop of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
3. Iyawannis, bishop of Hadath, syncellus of the patriarch
4. Zachariah, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Barid Monastery
5. Mark, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Elisha
6. Basilius, metropolitan of Tarsus, his (the patriarch) syncellus
7. Basilius, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Abulhor
8. Butrus, bishop of Hamam and Balinj, from the Monastery of Sobe (The Elders)
9. Timothy, bishop of Hadath, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji in Hani
10. Sergius, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of Habib
11. Basilius, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
12. Butrus, metropolitan of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
13. Tuma, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Qartmin
14. Athanasius, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Monastery of Li'azar
15. Iyawannis Bar Hadh Bshabo, bishop of Kharshana
16. Tuma, metropolitan of Sijistan, from the Monastery of Hani
17. Iliyya (Elijah) Abu al-Hasan, deacon of Mitani, metropolitan of Balish,
18. Dionysius David, bishop of Birta-Gargar, from the Monastery of Mor Julian, bishop of Kesum
19. Basilius, bishop of Hisn Mansur in Qanqart
20. Dioscorus, bishop of Samosata, in Labitor
21. Basilius, metropolitan of Aphra, from the Monastery of Hani
22. Iyawannis, bishop of Qallisura, from Tell Batriq
23. Basilius, bishop of Arqa, from the Monastery of the Persians
24. Gregorius, bishop of Mardin, Tell Besme and Rish 'Ayna
25. Athanasius, metropolitan of Arzen, from the Monastery of Abid Abdun
26. Iyawannis, bishop of Jubas, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
27. Butrus, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Hur 'Bar
28. Philoxenus, bishop of Hamam, Kalinj and Sanodno, from the Monastery of the Mother of God in Turo d' Ukomo (the Black Mountain)

BOOK TWENTY-ONE

29. Iyawannis, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of Habib in Turo d'Ukomo (the Black Mountain)
30. Dionysius, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji

Patriarch Yuhanna served fourteen years and ten months. He was realistic in choosing his ordinations and was impacted by his teacher. He died on Saturday, May 24, 1368 (A.D. 1057), and was buried in the northern part of the Church of the Mother of God in Amid.

Patriarch Athanasius (VI) Haya was bishop of Arsamosata. He was ordained uncanonically for the second time in Persia by the laying on of hands of Basilius, bishop of Harran. He was criticized for his second ordination. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Gregorius, bishop of Kesum
2. Ignatius, bishop of Arqa, from the Monastery of Argula
3. Timothy, bishop of Hisn Batriq, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)
4. Timothy, bishop of Tell Batriq, from the Monastery of Beth Bo'utho in Hisn Ziyad
5. Ignatius, bishop of Semando, from the Barid Monastery
6. Athanasius, metropolitan of Homs, from the same city
7. Philoxenus, bishop of Arsamosata, from the Office of the patriarchate
8. Matta, metropolitan of Samosata
9. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Miyafarqat from the Monastery of Hur 'Abir
10. Timothy, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Monastery of Mor Shina
11. Ignatius, metropolitan of Damascus
12. Basilius, metropolitan of Halbun, from Turo d' Ukomo (the Black Mountain)
13. Theodosius, bishop of Ra'ban
14. Butrus, Bar Arikho, bishop of Arqa, who became Chalcedonian because of a certain controversy
15. Gregorius, bishop of Birta-Gargar
16. Athanasius, bishop of Rahubot
17. Ignatius, nephew (son of the patriarch's sister), metropolitan of Melitene

Athanasius Haya ordained other bishops, whose names are not recorded because of a controversy that was stirred up following the departure of the Turks. He passed away in 1374 (A.D. 1063), on the way to Constantinople, where he was taken by the Chalcedonians allegedly to debate with him.

Patriarch Yuhanon (X) Bar Shushan of Melitene was ordained in Amid in the time of Patriarch Haya, but he stepped aside. Upon Haya's death, the bishops assembled and forced him to accept the patriarchate, and thus began to serve it. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Ignatius, a native of Qilleth, metropolitan of this city and of Dara
2. Simon, bishop of Kesum, from the Patriarchal Office
3. Timothy, bishop of Harran, from the Church of the Edessan in Edessa
4. Timothy, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Harsafta
5. Athanasius, metropolitan of Semando, from the Barid Monastery in Harran
6. Basilius, bishop of Laqbin, from the Monastery of Li'azar in 'Arqa
7. Dionysius, bishop of Jubas, from Bar Jaji
8. Iyawannis, bishop of Arqa, from Bar Jaji
9. Matta, bishop of Sarug, who deserted his diocese
10. Philoxenus, bishop of Sijistan who refused to join it and was deposed
11. Ignatius, bishop of Arzen from the region of Miyafarqat
12. Timothy of Amid, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Mor Abhai
13. Ignatius, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the same monastery

14. Basilius, bishop of Mardin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
15. Athanasius, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Monastery of Mor Ashot
16. Ignatius, bishop of Duluk (Doliche), from the Monastery of Abulhor
17. Iyawannis Saul, bishop of Mardin, from the Monastery of Qartmin

Bar Shushan served the patriarchate for nine years. He passed away on Tuesday, November 27, 1384 (A.D. 1073), and was buried in the Church of the Mother of God next to the grave of Mor Yuhanon Bar Abdun.

Patriarch Basilius (II) from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in Shena was ordained in January 1385 (A.D. 1074), at Hisn Mansur by the laying on of hands of Athanasius, metropolitan of Edessa. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Basilius, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Mor Abhai
2. Gregorius, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monasteries of Ashot and Mor Barsoum
3. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Semando from the Monastery of Bar Jaji, at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. He is Patriarch Yuhanon Bar Abdun.
4. Athanasius, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
5. Athanasius, metropolitan of Edessa, at the Monastery of Mor Abhai
6. Athanasius, bishop of Kharshana at the Patriarchal Office in Qanqart
7. Yuhanon, metropolitan and maphryono of Takrit, from the Monastery of Qartmin

Basilius served the patriarchate for one year and six months. He passed away and was buried in Miyafarqat, the City of Martyrs.

Patriarch Yuhanon Bar Abdun was a metropolitan of Semando, and stole the patriarchate by force. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Iyawannis, bishop of Tell Hamdun
2. Abdokos, bishop of Arqa
3. Ignatius, bishop of Mardin, and Bouzir who converted to Islam in Amid

He was still living during the periods of four patriarchs.

Patriarch Dionysius (V) Li'azar, superior of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, was ordained in the same monastery by the laying on of hands of Mor Yuhanon, metropolitan of Takrit, in the year 1388 (A.D. 1077). He served for one year and ordained no bishops. He died in Hisn Mansur.

Patriarch Yuhanon (XI), the hermit from the region of Kharshana, was ordained at Melitene in the year 1391 (A.D. 1080), by the laying on of hands of Ignatius, metropolitan of Melitene and the bishops with him. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Barid Monastery
2. Timothy, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
3. Athanasius, bishop of Duluk (Doliche) and Mabug (Manbij), from the Barid Monastery
4. Basilius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Barid Monastery
5. Slibo, bishop of Balikh, from the same monastery

Patriarch Yuhanon served one year and six months. He died at the Barid Monastery and was buried in it.

Patriarch Dionysius Marcus, superior of the Barid Monastery, was ordained in this monastery in the presence of few bishops, and thus refused to accept the position. He did not yield until Abdun started making trouble. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Philoxenus, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
2. Matta, bishop of Ra'ban, from the Monastery of Shamnuk
3. Basilius, bishop of Harran from the same monastery
4. Iyawannis, bishop of Arsamosata, from the Monastery Qaiso Abyo (Thick Wood)
5. Ohiloxenus, bishop of Hisn Mansur, from the Monastery of... (name of the monastery is not given)
6. Harun (Aaron), metropolitan of Sijistan, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun in the Blessed Mountain
7. Basilius Shamli, bishop of Tur Abdin
8. Gregorius Li'azar, bishop of the diocese which was split
9. Yeshu, bishop of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Abulhor
10. Basilius, metropolitan of Kafartab and Homs

Dionysius served one and a half years and died at the Monastery of Zarnuqa.

Patriarch Athanasius Abu al-Fraj of Amid, a monk-priest at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, was ordained in Melitene on the first Sunday of December of the year 1402 (A.D. 1091) by the laying on of hands of Mor Timothy, metropolitan of Tell Batriq. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Cyril of Jerusalem, metropolitan of Jerusalem, was called from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. He is Sa'dun of the seven sheets of paper.
2. Iyawannis, bishop of Kalinj and Bithynia, from the Barid Monastery
3. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Melitene, who is Sa'id Bar Sabuni who was killed
4. Basilius, bishop of Birta (Bira)-Gargar, from the Monastery of Mor Abhai
5. Ignatius, metropolitan of Tell Batriq, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)
6. Dionysius, metropolitan of Arzen, from the Monastery of Mor Habib
7. Basilius, metropolitan of Edessa, who is Bar Sabuni who was deposed
8. Dionysius, bishop of Kesum, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
9. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from the Monastery of Kasliyyud
10. Basilius, metropolitan of Semando, from the Barid Monastery
11. Timothy, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Mor Abhai
12. Iyawannis, bishop of Tell Batriq, from the Monastery of Sarsaq
13. Basilius, bishop of Sarug, from the Mountain of Edessa
14. Gregorius, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
15. Timothy, bishop of Kharshana, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji
16. Yuhanon Bar Tuma, bishop of Laqbin, from the church of Melitene
17. David, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from Roghulo d'Lilyo (Night Rivulet). He is Sa'dun who drowned in the sea.
18. Basilius, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from Beth Qanya
19. Gregorius, bishop of Ra'ban, from the Monastery of Arnish
20. Timothy, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Monastery of Mor Habib
21. Iyawannis, bishop of Sarug, from the Mountain of Edessa
22. Timothy Bar Basil, bishop of Gargar, from the Monastery of Sergisiyya
23. Iyawannis, bishop of al-Raqqa (Callinicus), from the church of Balish
24. Iyawannis Elisha, metropolitan of Melitene, from Mar'ash
25. Dionysius Musa, maphryono of Takrit, from the Barid Monastery
26. Basilius, bishop of Hisn Mansur, who resigned after one year and lived a year and then died
27. Ignatius, bishop of Hana, from Tur Abdin
28. Timothy, bishop of Mar'ash, from the hermits of Duwayr

29. Timothy, bishop of Tell Batriq, from the Monastery of Phuqa
30. Ignatius, bishop of Kafartab, from our Monastery in Jerusalem
31. Basilius, bishop of the Monastery of Qartmin, from the same monastery
32. Ignatius Hasnun, metropolitan of Jerusalem
33. Cyril, metropolitan of Kafartab, from Duwayr
34. Philoxenus, bishop of Kalinj, from the Monastery of Mor Shina
35. Ignatius, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from Turo d'Ukomo (the Black Mountain)
36. Timothy Fraij of Edessa, metropolitan of Samosata and Hisn Mansur
37. Ignatius the Edessan, metropolitan of Arsamosata, from Harsafta
38. Iyawannis Marcus, metropolitan of Miyafarqat
39. Timothy, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
40. Iyawannis, bishop of Sijistan, from Hisn Ziyad
41. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the Monastery of Arnish
42. Iyawannis, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Madiq
43. Ignatius, Bar Gadina (Fortunate), metropolitan of Edessa, from our Patriarchal Office
44. Basilius, bishop of Jihun, from the Monastery of Romana
45. Basilius Bar Abbas, metropolitan of Mardin, from the Mountain of Edessa
46. Dionysius, bishop of Hisna, from Mor Abhai
47. Iyawannis, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from our Patriarchal Office
48. Ignatius, bishop of Harran, from our Patriarchal Office
49. Gregorius, bishop of Kharshana, from the Barid Monastery
50. Yuhanon of Arnish, metropolitan of Damascus, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
51. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Rish 'Ayna and Mardin, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
52. Basilius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Qanqart
53. Dionysius, bishop of Jubas, from the Monastery of Sergisiyya
54. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from our Patriarchal Office in Qanqart
55. Yuhanon Yusuf (Joseph), metropolitan of Mardin, who gained a great renown in his generation
56. Philoxenus, bishop of Kharshana in Kesum
57. Timothy, bishop of Haza, in Kesum
58. Simon, metropolitan of Anazarba, in Kesum
59. Basilius, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
60. Ignatius, bishop of Arqa from the same monastery
61. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Sijistan, from the same monastery

He (Patriarch Athanasius Abu al-Faraj) served for thirty-eight years. He died on June 8, 1440 (A.D. 1129), and was buried in the burial chamber of the ancient church of Mor Barsoum, where Patriarch Athanasius of Salah was buried.

Patriarch Yuhanon (XII) Modyana (Confessor), superior of the Monastery of Duwayr, was ordained in Tell Bashir (Turbessel), on Monday, February 7, 1442 (A.D. 1131), by the laying on of hands of Maphryono Dionysius. His ordination was attended by Joscelin and prominent men. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Athanasius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Antioch
2. Athanasius, metropolitan of Edessa, from the same city
3. Basilius Abu al-Faraj Bar Shumanna, metropolitan of Kesum
4. Basilius, bishop of Laqbin, from Arnish who was later deposed
5. Iyawannis, bishop of Adana, from the Monastery of Duwayr
6. Athanasius, bishop of Sadad, from the Monastery of Mor Matta (St. Matthew's Monastery)
7. Athanasius, bishop of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum

8. Iyawannis, bishop of Sebaber, from the same monastery
9. Basilius, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Jerusalem
10. Dionysius, metropolitan of Damascus, from Edessa
11. Matta, metropolitan of Semando, from the Monastery of Beth Qanya
12. Basilius, Metropolitan of Arzen from the same region

Patriarch Yuhanon Modyana served for eight years, and passed away at the Monastery of Duwayr where he was also buried.

Patriarch Athanasius Yeshu Bar Qatra, deacon of Melitene, was ordained in the city of Amid on Sunday, December 4, 1450 (A.D. 1139), by the laying on of hands of Maphryono Mor Dionysius. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Ignatius, metropolitan of Melitene, who is son of the patriarch's sister
2. Ignatius Romanus, metropolitan of Jerusalem, a monk from the Monastery of Melitene
3. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Mountain of Edessa
4. Ignatius, bishop of Aleppo, from the Mountain of Edessa
5. Maphryono Ignatius, from the monastery of Sergisiyya in the Shaghra (Fountain) of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)
6. Cyril, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of Abulhor in Melitene
7. Philoxenus, bishop of Mar'ash, from Melitene
8. Iyawannis, syncellus of the patriarch, bishop of Kesum, from the monastery of Madiq
9. Timothy Yusuf (Joseph), bishop of Gargar, who fell (for a transgression)
10. Philoxenus, bishop of Kafartab, from the Monastery of Duwar in Kesum
11. Yuhanon of Melitene, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
12. Iyawannis, bishop of Laqbin, from the Monastery of Sergisiyya
13. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the city of Amid
14. Basilius, bishop of Claudia, from Madiq
15. Iyawannis, disciple of the patriarch, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from Maqrana
16. Basilius, metropolitan of Semando, from Mor Ahrun (Aaron) in the Blessed Mountain
17. Timothy, bishop of Arsamosata, from Madiq
18. Yuhanon, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
19. Ignatius, bishop of Tell Arsanius, from Sergisiyya
20. Dionysius Rhetor (Bar Salibi) of Melitene, bishop of Mar'ash who then moved to Amid
21. Simon, metropolitan of Arzen, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
22. Ignatius, metropolitan of Arqa, from the Monastery of Mor Li'azar
23. Iyawannis Musa, bishop of Hana, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya in Melitene
24. Timothy, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Azrun in Sergisiyya
25. Iyawannis, bishop of Jihan, nephew of the Shaykh (old man) while the Shaykh was still living
26. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Hamam, at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. He was most venerable.
27. Ignatius, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Mado
28. Iyawannis, bishop of Arsamosata, from the same monastery
29. Ignatius Gabriel, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the same region
30. Dionysius, bishop of Laqbin, from Melitene, who later abandoned it (Laqbin)
31. Timothy, bishop of Jubas, son of the brother of the Shaykh who ordained him while still living
32. Basilius, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Barid Monastery
33. Maphryono Yuhanon, superior of the Monastery of Mor Jacob in the Mountain of Edessa
34. Timothy, bishop of Kharshana, from the same region

Patriarch Bar Qatra served twenty-seven years and seven months. He passed away on Thursday, July 14, 1477 (A.D. 1166), and was buried on Friday, which is the commemoration of Mar Abhai, in the ancient church of Mor Barsoum where Athanasius of Salah and Athanasius of Amid were buried. May the prayers of three of them be a help for us. *Amen.*

Michael (Rabo)

I say in all truth and not as a matter of humbleness, that I am unworthy of the holy dignity of the patriarchate, not even by name. However, it is the incomprehensible dispensations of God and his divine grace.

The Holy Council, assembled at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, was attended by Maphryono Mor Yuhanon, and the Bishops Mor Basilius of Edessa and president of the Council, Mor Basilius of Jihan, Mor Dionysius of Jubas, Mor Athanasius of Anazarba, Mor Ignatius of Melitene, Mor Yuhanon of Samosata, Mor Iyawannis of Kesum, Mor Basilius of Claudia, Mor Yuhanon of Qartmin, Mor Ignatius of Birta, Mor Dionysius the malphono, Mor Simon of Arzen, Mor Ignatius of Tur Abdin, Mor Ignatius of Arqa, Mor Dionysius of Laqbin, Mor Timothy of Harran, the young Mor Iyawannis of Jihan, Mor Iyawannis of Arsamosata, the young Mor Timothy of Jubas, Mor Timothy of Beth Araboye (the Arabs), Mor Timothy of Azerbaijan, Mor Yuhanon of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Mor Iyawannis of Beth Romana, Mor Iyawannis of Nisibin, Mor Yuhanon of Qallisura, Mor Iyawannis of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), and Mor Basilius of Mar'ash. The ordination was done on Tuesday, October 18, 1478 (A.D. 1167). He (Michael) ordained the following bishops:

1. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Damascus, was ordained in Jerusalem in order that in Jerusalem ordinations should begin. He was ordained on Easter Sunday in the presence of four bishops
2. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Tarsus, from Duwayr
3. Athanasius, metropolitan of Anazarba, from Kasliyud, was ordained in Antioch
4. Yuhanon, bishop of Arsamosata, disciple of the late patriarch, ordained in Antioch
5. Ignatius Abu Ghalib, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
6. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from Kasliyud, ordained in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
7. Iyawannis Theodor, son of Bar Andrew's brother, metropolitan of Samosata
8. Timothy Constantine, bishop of Laqbin, who is superior of the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron) in Shaghra
9. Ignatius Barsoum, bishop of Tell Arsanius, superior of the Monastery of Sergisiyya
10. Iyawannis, bishop of Sebaber, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun in the Blessed Mountain, was ordained in the Monastery of Mor Hananya in Mar'ash
11. Athanasius Abu Ghalib, the old hermit, bishop of Jihan
12. Athanasius, bishop of Edessa, who is Rabban (monk) Denha of Edessa
13. Basilius Yuhanon the hermit, bishop of Ra'ban
14. Gregorius, bishop of Kesum, from the mountain of Edessa
15. Abraham, metropolitan of Amid, from the same city
16. Timothy, bishop of Claudia, superior of the Monastery of Madiq
17. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Kesum, from the Monastery of the Cross in Tur Abdin
18. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the Monastery of the Samosatians in the district of Mardin
19. Yuhanon Simon, bishop of Arsamosata from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron) in the Blessed Mountain
20. Basilius, metropolitan of Semando, from the same monastery
21. Iyawannis Isaac, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
22. Basilius, metropolitan of Sijistan, who was educated at the Patriarchal Office

23. Dionysius, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
24. Yuhanon, bishop of Shalbdin, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
25. Abraham, metropolitan of the Monastery of Sha'ba, who fell into the error of Bar Wahbun
26. Athanasius, metropolitan of Jerusalem, who is the carnal son of my brother
27. Dionysius, metropolitan of Aleppo, who is the monk Mubarak of Edessa
28. Yuhanon, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, who is Yesu the syncellus from Tur Abdin
29. Ignatius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
30. Dionysius, metropolitan of Melitene, who is Agrippa Bar Samka, who was educated at our Patriarchal Office
31. Basilius, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from the Monastery of the Hisn
32. Iyawannis, bishop of Amid, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun, was ordained in Melitene
33. Iyawannis, bishop of Ra'ban, of Tell Arsanius, from the Monastery of Madiq
34. Ignatius, bishop of Laqbin, was summoned from our Patriarchal Office
35. Ignatius, bishop of Harran, was transferred to Damascus. He converted to Islam during the persecution of Jerusalem and fled to Egypt
36. Stephen, a superior of the monastery, metropolitan of Sijistan
37. Basilius, bishop of Birta Gargar, from the Patriarchal Office
38. Basilius Simon, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), a monk from the region of Antioch
39. Gregorius, chief priest, that is maphryono of Takrit, is Jacob, son of my brother, and my spiritual son. He is a learned man who was summoned from our Patriarchal Office and ordained in the year 1500 (A.D. 1189), in the presence of four bishops
40. Ignatius, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Monastery of Kasliyud
41. Iyawannis, bishop of Qallisura, son of Qunun, who was later transferred to Melitene
42. Yuhanon, bishop of Mardin, the Mawdyono (confessor), who later fell and denied the Orthodox faith and went to Constantinople and became Chalcedonian
43. Timothy, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Madiq
44. Iyawannis, bishop of Caesarea and Cappadocia, is the monk Damian from the Monastery of Romana
45. Iyawannis Micha, metropolitan of Amid, summoned from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
46. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Damascus, is the Antiochian monk Gregorius
47. Ignatius, bishop of Jubas, from the Monastery of Maqrana
48. Basilius, metropolitan of Edessa, is the cavalier of the mountain's summit
49. Basilius Constantine, bishop of Aleppo, was superior of the Monastery of Abu Ghalib
50. Philoxenus, Barsoum, bishop of Romana
51. Gregorius, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Madiq
52. Ignatius Sahdo, metropolitan of Jerusalem, was superior the of the monastery
53. Basilius, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery in the Blessed Mountain
54. Dionysius, bishop of Jihan and the Barid Monastery, from the Barid Monastery
55. Iyawannis Joseph of Amid, bishop of Homs, from the Monastery of Abu Ghalib

Here ends the tables of the names of bishops ordained by each of the patriarchs, and the regions where they were ordained. He who reads, let him pray for the sinner.

Names of the chief priests (bishops) of Jerusalem:

1. Jacob, brother of the Lord, three years
2. Yusuf (Joseph) Bar Cleophas, five years
3. Zakka, two years
4. Tobias, three years

5. Benjamin, one year
6. Yuhanon, three years
7. Matthias, seven years
8. Justus, five years
9. Philip, seven years
10. Justus, one year
11. Ephraim, who is Aphres, three years
12. Levi, two years
13. Joseph, two years
14. Judah, one year (all of these were people of the Circumcision, and their terms continued until the destruction of Jerusalem)
15. Marcus from the gentiles
16. Cassianus, three years
17. Maximus, five years
18. Julian, six years
19. Gaius, two years
20. Symmachus, four years
21. Gaius, twenty-four years
22. another Julian, two years
23. Caphiton, eighteen years
24. Maximianus, eight years
25. Antonius, ten years
26. Valens
27. Dolichianus
28. Narcissus
29. Dios
30. Germalion
31. Gordian
32. Narcissus, the same one
33. Antoninus
34. Valens
35. Mosius, four years
36. Alexander
37. Mazcanius
38. Homanus
39. Abados
40. Hermon
41. Judah, who attended the Council of the 318 (Nicaea) in the time of Constantine
42. Macarius
43. Maximianus, whose eyes were gouged by the heathens during the persecution
44. Cyril, who was driven away by the Arians
45. Arsanius the Arian
46. Elarnaus the Arian
47. Cyril, who attended the Council of the 150 (Council of Constantinople)
48. Prailus
49. Juvenal, who fell into Chalcedonianism
50. Theodosius, who was strangled by the Chalcedonians
51. Anastasius
52. Martyrius

BOOK TWENTY-ONE

53. Sallustianus, from whom the pope of Rome separated
54. Elias, who was driven away, and no bishop was set up for the Orthodox until the appearance of Islam
55. Cyril
56. Jeremiah
57. Tuma
58. Yuhanon
59. Philoxenus
60. Timothy
61. Job
62. Ignatius
63. Joseph
64. Yuhanon
65. Cyril
66. Cyriacus
67. Sawera (Severus)
68. Joseph
69. Theodorus
70. Cyril
71. Jeremiah
72. Tuma
73. Yuhanon
74. Philoxenus
75. Zachariah
76. Tuma
77. Timothy
78. Yuhanon
79. Cyril
80. David
81. Ignatius
82. Ignatius
83. Ignatius
84. Athanasius
85. Ignatius

Names of the bishops of Edessa:

1. Addai
2. Aggi
3. Phalut
4. Abshlama
5. Bar Samia (son of the blind one)
6. Tiridate
7. Barnai
8. Shalula
9. Abda
10. Gouria
11. Abda
12. Izni

13. Hystaspe
14. Aqai
15. Quna
16. Sha'uth
17. Ithalaha
18. Abraham
19. Eulogius
20. Rabula
21. Ithalaha
22. Habsai
23. Barnai
24. Abraham
25. Barsa
26. Eulogius
27. Qura
28. Silona (Silvanus)
29. Phqidha
30. Diogene
31. Rabula
32. Hiba (Ibas) the heretic
33. Nonnus
34. Cyrus
35. Peter
36. Paul
37. Asliph
38. Amahon (Amasanius)
39. Jacob
40. Epiphanius
41. Sawera (Severus)
42. Sergius
43. Theodore
44. Paul
45. Yunan (Jona)
46. Isaiah
47. Simon
48. Gabriel
49. Tiberias
50. Jacob the Rhetorician
51. Habib
52. Constantine
53. Zachariah
54. Zachariah
55. Basilius
56. Theodosius
57. Cyril
58. Benjamin the Rabban (monk, teacher)
59. Iliyya (Elijah)
60. Constantine
61. Theodosius

62. Dioscorus
63. Timothy
64. Philoxenus
65. Abraham
66. Philoxenus
67. Ignatius
68. Athanasius
69. Athanasius
70. Basilius
71. Athanasius
72. Basilius
73. Athanasius
74. Basilius

End of names

Names of the bishops of Melitene:

1. Leontius
2. Otreius
3. Accacius
4. Mama
5. Domitian
- (Then follows a long period)
6. Tuma
7. Ezekiel
8. Gregorius
9. Ahrun (Aaron)
10. Daniel
11. Ezekiel
12. Iliyya (Elijah)
13. Yuhanon
14. Gregorius
15. Iyawannis
16. Iliyya (Elijah)
17. Ezekiel
18. Ignatius Rahuto (the Runner)
19. Iyawannis
20. Ignatius
21. Yuhanon
22. Ignatius the Rhetorician
23. Yuhanon
24. Dionysius
25. Iyawanins
26. Iganatius
27. Dionysius
28. Iyawannis

End of the names

Names of the bishops of Amid:

1. Iyawannis
2. Ignatius
3. Habib
4. Abraham
5. Yuhanon
6. Moses
7. Ignatius
8. Iyawannis
9. Joseph
10. Ignatius
11. Timothy
12. Yuhanon
13. Bailius
14. Ignatius
15. Athanasius
16. Basilius
17. Athanasius
18. Dionysius the Rhetorician
19. Ignatius
20. Abrah
21. Ignatius
22. Abraham
23. Iyawannis who was excommunicated
24. Iyawannis

End of the names

Names of the bishops of Takrit following the martyr Babai:

1. Garmai
2. Marutha
3. Christodolus
4. Yuhanon
5. Denha
6. Bacchus
7. Yuhanon Zakonoyo
8. Sharbil
9. Simon
10. Basilius
11. Tuma
12. Basilius
13. Melchizedek
14. Sergius
15. Athanasius
16. Tuma
17. Denha
18. Basilius
19. Cyriacus
20. Ignatius who apostatized becoming a Muslim

21. Athanasius
22. Basilius
23. Yuhanon
24. Dionysius
25. Ignatius
26. Yuhanon
27. Gregorius the Rhetorician

We append below the names of Armenian kings and chief priests as recorded in their books:

The chief priests and the duration of their pontificates:

After Bartholomew and Addai the evangelists:

1. Krikor, thirty years
2. Restakes, one year
3. Bartanes, his son, seventeen years
4. Ausig, six years
5. Parnerseh, ten years
6. Nerses, thirty-four years
7. Sahak, five years
8. Zaven, six years
9. Asporases, five years
10. Sahak Balhab, five years
11. Sourmag, one year
12. Yusuf (Joseph), eight years
13. Kit, ten years
14. Vahan Mandaguni, six years
15. Papken, six years
16. Samuel, ten years
17. Moses, eight years
18. Sahak, five years
19. Christopher, six years
20. Lebon, three years
21. Nerses, nine years
22. Ohannes, seventeen years
23. Moses, thirty years
24. Abraham, twenty-three years
25. Vahan, twenty-six years
26. Gomidas, eight years
27. Christopher, three years
28. Ezra, ten years
29. Nerses, twenty years
30. Anastas, six years
31. Anael, ten years
32. Sahak, twenty-seven years
33. Egia, thirteen years
34. Iohannes Amanser (Imastaser), eleven years
35. Tabit (David), thirteen years

36. Dertad, twenty-three years

37. Sion, eight years

They say that in the first year of Abgar son of Arsham, which is the year 43 of Augustus Caesar and the year 33 of Herod, our Lord who was born in Bethlehem was baptized when he was thirty years old and suffered at the age of thirty-three. When Abgar learned of the mystery of his suffering, he sent to him Hananya Aphhoni accompanied by ten others. When Aphhoni arrived in Jerusalem, he met one of the Lord's disciples named Philip and told him the reason of his coming to Jerusalem. Philip informed Andrew of (what Aphhoni said), and both of them related the story to Jesus. As John had written that people went up to Jerusalem and said, "We want to see Jesus," and Andrew and Philip told Jesus of these people. Jesus said to them, "The hour has come for the Son of Man to be glorified."²⁴²² He (Jesus) called the Passion and the Cross by which all mankind was redeemed, a glory. He did not want to go to Armenia but welcomed Hananya Aphhoni the messenger of Abgar. He instructed the Apostle Thomas to write a reply to Abgar, and promised to send, after his Resurrection, one of his disciples to heal him.

The Prophet Zechariah, who saw this mystery through the eye of the prophecy, alluded to Abgar and the ten men he sent to the Lord. He said that, "In those days ten men from all languages and nations will take firm hold of one Jew by the hem of his robe and say to him, etc."²⁴²³

Abgar lived five years after the Passion of our Lord, and the total duration of his reign was thirty-eight years.

After Abgar, Sanatruck, son of his uncle, reigned. He founded the city of Nisibin in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) situated on the River Euphrates. After completing its construction, he ordered a statue of himself be made and erected on its wall, holding one dirham (drachma) in his hand as an indication that after its building he had nothing but one dirham. He is the one who killed the Apostle Thaddeus in Adra (Ardaz).

Afterwards, Sanatruck Erband from the same family reigned. He was son of Arshaguni and a wife of an unlawful marriage. He ruled for twenty years. He killed the sons of Sanatruck by the instigation of God to avenge the blood of the Apostle (Thaddeus). Then, a certain man named So'badh (Smbat) Pskraoduni took one of the sons of Sanatruck named Arshuk, to Tarish, the Persian king. He told him that the boy was a son of Sanatruck and he alone escaped the massacre of his brothers. When the Persian king heard this, he crowned the boy and gave Smbat seventy thousand armed men and dispatched him against Erband. Smbat killed Erband, took his crown of Sanatruck, and placed it on the head of his son Arshouh, and they called that spot Erband-aband.

In the tenth year of Erband, Jerusalem was devastated by Espinianus (Vespasian).

After Erband, Arshuk ruled for forty years. He took to wife the daughter of the king of the Alans. They were accompanied by the Saints Soubia and Sinos. He became a believer and was baptized by Saint Segianus, disciple of the Apostle Thaddeus. In the time of Arshuk were saints called *Bazak* who ate herbage, and all of them won the crown of martyrdom.

After Arshuk, his son Ardabazd reigned for two years. The Armenians exaggerate him immensely. They say that mighty men called *Kashir* took him in chains to Masius Mountain, but he attempted to release himself in order to devastate the earth. However, his chains kept being renewed by the hammering of the ironsmiths, which made it difficult for him to escape. They also led others against him. When he was crossing the Arshak bridge, he stumbled and fell (into the water), and his body could not be found. They (the Armenians) spread the rumor that he was still alive until this day.

Arshuk was followed by his brother, Tirad, who ruled for seventeen years, and by his other brother, Tikran, who ruled for forty-five years.

Tikran was followed by his son Bagras who ruled for eighteen years.

²⁴²² John 12:20-24.

²⁴²³ Zechariah 8:23.

Bagras was followed by his son Khosrov who ruled for forty-eight years. He was killed by the Persian King Ardashir who ruled the Armenians for twenty-six years.

After the Persian king, Dertat son of Khosrov, ruled for fifty-six years. In year sixteen of his rule, which was the year twenty of Domitian, and the year 460 of the Passion of the Savior, Saint Gregorius went out of Birab and evangelized the Armenians for thirty years, and then departed to our Lord. He was succeeded by his young son Restakes who built the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in the hamlet of Kozan. He was killed by a leader named Arkegabos because he censured him for his evil deeds. After him, Bartanes, the eldest son of Gregorius, ruled for seventeen years.

He was persecuted by a woman named Satal "dignas digin" for rebuking her.

After Dertat, his young son Khosrov ruled for twenty years. He built a city at the foot of a mountain Khegam on the River Azad and called it Tebin, in Persian that is plar or, plour (hillock) in Armenian. In the year sixteen of his rule, his grandson Ausig, son of Bartanes, was ordained a catholicos of the Armenians for six years.

Khosrov was succeeded by his son Diran for fifteen years. However, because the Catholicos Ausig reprimanded him, he ordered the catholicos be whipped to death. When the aged Chorepiscopus Daniel, a disciple of Gregorius, heard this, he cursed the king and everything he had, and the accursed king had him strangulated.

Then, Pharnerseh, a peaceful and meek man, was ordained a catholicos. Four years later, however, the king had him killed. Afterwards, the Persian king seized Diran and blinded his eyes. Thus, the Lord delivered him to his enemies because of his wickedness and for murdering the catholicos and scattering the Armenians.

After Diran, his son Arshak ruled for thirty years. He killed his nephew Knel on account of a woman called Pharandzem. In the fourth year of his reign, Athanakine, son of Ausig, son of Bartanes, son of Gregorius, was ordained a catholicos. He occupied the seat of the episcopate for thirty-four years. He condemned King Arshak for murdering his nephew and taking his wife. He also cursed the Armenian race, and that no king of them would be set up anymore. He abandoned his seat and went to the country of the Greeks.

Then, the Persian king summoned Arshak, king of the Armenians. When Arshak went to him, he bound him in iron fetters and cast him into prison. Arshak killed himself there as was prophesied by the Catholicos Nerses. The Persian king appointed a leader for Armenia, a Persian man named Mehrojan. Meanwhile, Catholicos Nerses implored Theodosius the Great, king (emperor) of the Romans, who delivered unto him the army of the imprisoned Arshak. Moreover, Pap, son of Arshak, commanded the army and defeated Mehrojan. He ruled for seven years.

In this period, Theodosius had a city built in Armenia by Anatolius, commanding general of the Roman army, which accompanied Pap. The city was called Garno-Kakak, but then it was named after king (emperor) Theodosius.²⁴²⁴

Because he followed his father's wicked steps, Catholicos Nerses never stopped reprimanding him. Pap, afraid that the catholicos might curse him as he cursed his father and then depart to the Greeks, had the catholicos poisoned to death. Then, Basilius the Great excommunicated Pap, and determined that no catholicos would be ordained for the Armenians from Caesarea, for until then Armenian catholicoses were ordained from the See of Caesarea. The curse of Saint Basilius followed Pap like arrows of wrath. He was seized by Anatolius and brought to king Theodosius, who ordered him to be thrown into the sea, as said by Moses Kertoghair of fair speech.

After Pap, Baraztan Arhsakuni ruled for ten years. He assumed power by the command of King (Emperor) Theodosius because he was a hostage of the Romans.

²⁴²⁴ Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, translated by Robert W. Thomson (Harvard University Press, 1978), 331-332.

In this period, Sahak, son of Nerses, was ordained a catholicos of the Armenians without the permission of the metropolitan of Caesarea. He served for six years. He was succeeded by his brother, Zaven, who likewise served for six years. He was succeeded by Asiporag for five years.

After Barzadad, the two sons of Pap, Arshak and Bagarshak, reigned for twenty years. After them, ruled Khosrov Arshakuni by order of the king of Persia because, once more, the Armenians rebelled against the Romans. Khosrov ruled for ten years. In his second year, Sahak, son of Nerses the Great, was ordained a catholicos of the Armenians for forty-one years.

After Khosrov reigned Pershapuh by order of the Persian king for twenty-two years. In his time, the Armenians were able to refine their script by the effort of the blessed Mesrop from the village of Hasegas in the region of Taron. In this script, their books were copied by Sahak.²⁴²⁵

After Pershapuh, his son Ardashes ruled for ten years. Because he was of wicked deeds, the Armenian leaders met with Catholicos Sahak. They asked him to accompany them to the Persian king in order to depose their king and set up another one. The catholicos refused saying, "God forbid that I should deliver the branch of Christ to the hand of a wolf that has no faith." The leaders were angry with him. They went to Pershapuh, the Persian king, and slandered their king and their catholicos. He seized Ardasher, bound him and sent him to Khugastan (Khurasan), and deposed Sahak from being a catholicos. Based on the demand of the Armenian leaders, a Syrian Jacobite named Abti'o, a crafty and wicked person, was set up (in place of Ardasher). He lasted for only one year and died. He was succeeded by Samuel from the same race, who died two years later.

Afterwards, a person was set up named Sourmag who joined the Armenian leaders in calumniating the blessed Sahak. He was set up as king by order of the Persian king and died seven years later. Sahak, too, died in the village of Hasegas in the region of Taron. Also, King Khosrov died, and the Armenians set up a person named Sparabed (literally, judge), whose real name is Bartan (Vardan), and a grandson of Saint Sahak, from the family of Mamikonians.²⁴²⁶

According to the biography of malphono (teacher) Elisha, the Armenians at times succumbed to the Persian bondage, at other times they rebelled against them as they had rebelled against the Romans in the past. As to Bartan (Vardan), he was reconciled with the Armenian leaders for thirty years. Then he was martyred in the cause of the church at the hand of the Persian army. In his time, the Armenians had Yusuf (Joseph), a disciple of the martyr Mesrop, ordained a catholicos for eight years. He was succeeded by Kiud for ten years. In his time flourished the learned men Moses Bar Togahair (Kertogahair), his brother Mambre Baznug (Berzanug) and the philosopher Tabid (David).

Kiud was succeeded by Ohan Mangoni for 8 years, who set down many orders in the Armenian church like the orders of homilies to be recited during the day and vesper prayers, baptism, the ordination of bishops, presbyters and deacons, the consecration of the church, and the preparation for the offering of the Elements of the Eucharist. In his time, the Council of Chalcedon was convened (A.D. 451), but he did not accept it. He was succeeded by Papken for 6 years.

Judge Bartan (Vardan) was succeeded by his son Mankanus for 20 years. He was succeeded by his son Bahan (Vahan) for 15 years, who was succeeded by his brother's daughter for 12 years, and then by Megeg Knouni for 30 years.

In the tenth year, which is the year 310 of the Greeks, the year seven of Philip Caesar, the year fourteen of Justinian who built the grand church of Hagia Sophia and the year two hundred fifty-eight of Gregory the Illuminator, the history of the Armenians was written down.

Then, Samuel became a catholicos for 10 years; after him, Mouse (Moses) for 8 years; after him Sahak for 5 years; after him Christopher the philosopher for 6 years; after him Lebon (Leon) for 3 years; and after him Nerses for 9 years.

²⁴²⁵ Moses Khorenats'i *History of the Armenians*, translated Robert W. Thomson, 309-311.

²⁴²⁶ For Vardan's grandson of Sahak see Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, 327.

In the fourth year, Nerses convened a council at a place called Tebin, presided over by Peter of Siounik, Barshabouh (Nersabouh) of Daron, and Aptisho of Sanason.²⁴²⁷

In the same period, the Syrians assembled a council in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). They sent to the Armenian council a delegation of seven prominent men with letters containing the definition of the Orthodox faith, and the instruction that after the phrase "Holy thou art God" (in the Trisagion), they should say "You who was crucified for us." When the Armenians read this, they united themselves with the Syrians, and the dogma of both became the same. The Syrian delegates were Ahrun (Aaron), presbyter of the monastery, Tabit, presbyter of the monastery, Mor Dyab, Shaporis, Agob Arstrabuni, Tabit the presbyter, and Sarkis the presbyter. They also sent with them Abdisho, the saint and chosen of God, to be ordained a priest. As a token of affection, Nerses, president of the council, ordained him and sent him back with honor loaded with gifts, and a letter containing the definition of their faith. When the Syrians read it, they rejoiced, and with one accord with the Armenians, they anathematized the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo.

After Megega Knouni, Gabad, son of Beroz (Firuz) ruled the Persians.

In this period, the Persian Marzuban (governor) sent a person named Artensabuh to the Armenians to oblige them to worship fire, and kill those who refused to do so. He ruled for 8 years and was followed by Baraztad, also a Persian, who ruled for 7 years. When Qabad the Persian king died, his son Khosrov reigned. He sent (to the Armenians) an envoy from his Persian race named Souren, more wicked than the first who ruled for seven years. He raped the wives of the Armenian leaders in front of their husbands. Urged by zeal, the Armenian Bartan (Vardan) Peteshk killed the Persian and fled to Justinian, king (emperor) of the Greeks who welcomed him. The Church of Hagia Sophia was then in the process of being built. The Armenians and Justinian called one of its doors, "Armenian." Until this day it is known as The Armenian Door. Then, the Persians chose an Armenian from the Saruni family and set him up a leader over the Armenians.

In the twelfth year, appeared Muhammad ibn Abd Allah (The Prophet of Islam). With him, began the kingdom of the Arabs, which is the year 72 of the Armenian calendar. Tabit's leadership of the Armenians lasted 30 years, and he was succeeded by Theodosius Rashduni for 13 years.

In this time, Ohannes was ordained a catholicos of the Armenians for 23 years. He was followed by Moses for 30 years, who was followed by Abraham for 23 years. In his time, Qioron, catholicos of the Iberians, accepted the Council of Chalcedon, and the Iberians were separated from the Armenians and seized the towns of Garnoi-Kagak and Gedrasi. However, the name of the catholicos Vahan was not included in the table (of catholicoses) for his inclination toward Chalcedon, and he was deposed.

Then, Gomidas became catholicos for 8 years. He built the rest house of the martyr Horpsima (Saint Rhipsimé), and renovated the one which was built by Gregorius. He was succeeded by Christophor for 3 years, and then deposed because of a conflict among the leaders.

After Christophor, Azad was catholicos for 10 years. In his time, that was the year hundred according to the Armenian calendar, the Persian hegemony over Armenia vanished and the Arabs ruled Armenia and the country of the Iberians by Umar ibn Muhammad.

After Azad, Nerses was catholicos for 20 years. He built the Great Church of Mor Gregorius in the city of Tashdi, and invited Constantine, the grandson of Heraclius, to attend its consecration. However, Constantine did not honor the desires of the leaders as they expected. When he departed, they rejected the Catholicos Nerses because he defiled the church by introducing Chalcedonianism into it. Nerses cursed the Armenian leaders and fled to the county of the Romans where he died.

Nerses was succeeded by Anastasius for six years. In his time, Doctor Anania Shiargasi fixed an Armenian calendar because the Armenians were still using the Greek Calendar. Also in this time flourished Philon Diragasi, who translated the book of Socrates from Greek into Armenian.²⁴²⁸

²⁴²⁷ It should be noted that the Syriac transliteration of these names, and in fact, most of the Armenian names are garbled.

²⁴²⁸ This must be *The Ecclesiastical History* of the sixth-century Socrates Scholasticus of Constantinople.

After Anastasius, Ail was set up for 10 years; after him Sahak for 27 years who died in Harran; after him Elia for 13 years; after him Ohannes for 11, who convened a council in Manzagird.

As to the princes who came after Theodorus Rashduni, they were Hamazazp, Gurabagad, and Mamikon who was appointed by the Arabs and reigned for 26 years. He was succeeded by Krikor Badrig for 20 years; Ashot Pakraduni for, 17 years; Nerses Gamsargan, 20 years; Smbat Pakraduni for 20 years; Ashot Pakraduni, son of Basag for 18 years and his son Smbat, for 12 years.

The chief priests (pontiffs) after Ohannes were:

Tabit the philosopher, 13 years

Dertad, 23 years

Another Dertad, 3 years

Sion, 8 years

Esaya (Isaiah), 13 years

Sdepahnos, 2 years

Keork, 3 years

Ioseph, 10 years

Obab, 6 months

Shlemon (Solomon), 2 years

David, 25 years

Ohannes, 22 years. In his time, Mamunig was set up as prince over the Armenians in the fourth year of the Armenian Calendar.

Zachariah, the amiable man, 22 years

Keork, 21 years

Masdos, who was an ascetic from childhood, and became a catholicos for 8 months only.

Ohannes, 29 years. In his time, Smbat, son of Ashot became ruler of the Armenians.

He was succeeded by his son Ashot, called Msager, or “carnivore,” who ruled for twenty-five years. He is the one who bought with silver (money) the region of Arsanouris from the family of Gamsaraganas and changed its system of government.

After Smbat, ruled his son called Aplapas, 30 years. In his youth, he was taken as hostage to Samaria in the time of (Harun al-Rashid, the Abbasid caliph, d. 809). After his release, he came to Armenia to reign. Smbat was succeeded by his son Ashot for 20 years by order of the Amir Isa ibn Hashak, and the consent of Basil, king (emperor) of the Greeks. He was succeeded by his son Kiud in the year 339 of the Armenian calendar at the behest of the Amir Ahmad ibn Hashak Isa, and by the command of Leon, king (emperor) of the Romans. In his time, and in the time of his father, Armenia enjoyed peace.

In the year 22, which is the year 368 of the Armenian calendar, the Amir Yusuf ibn Bushig, the Arab, came to Armenia with a great army. Andrunserseh, king (emperor) of the Greeks, Kakig, prince of the Basburugan, and Ashot, son of Sabuh, encamped against Smbat in a place called Gabvid. After seizing the place, the Amir Yusuf crucified Smbat and devastated Armenia, and the condemnation of Israel by the prophet was fulfilled in the Armenians.

We found these chronicles in an Armenian book beginning from the year of the Incarnation of the Savior to the year 360 of the Armenian calendar, in which Smbat was killed and the Arabs dominated, the total of which is 970 years. Since then, the Armenians had no king.

Names of the Armenian kings and the years of the reign of each of them:

1. Abgar, 38 years
2. Sanatruk, 30 years
3. Erband, 20 years
4. Artashes, 40 years
5. Artavazd, 2 years

6. Tiran, 17 years
7. Tigran, 45 years
8. Bagars, 18 years
9. Khosrov, 44 years
10. Barsig, 16 years
11. Pokr Khosrov, 7 years
12. Dertad, 16 years
13. Diran, 15 years
14. Arshak, 30 years
15. Pap, 1 year
16. Barastad, 10 years
17. Arshak Bagarshak, 24 years
18. Khosrov, 10 years
19. Bramsabuh, 22 years
20. Ardases, 10 years

Here ends the epoch of the Armenian kings. After them arose princes called "Governors":

21. Vartan, thirty years
22. Manganos, twenty years.
23. Bahan (Vahan), fifteen years
24. Bart, twelve years
25. Megeg Knouni, thirty years

Here ends the rule of the Armenian governors. They were ruled by Persian governors called Marzubans (Judges):

26. Artensabuh, eight years
27. Barazbad, one year
28. Suren, one year

Then came new Armenian prince:

29. Tabi Saharuni, thirty years
30. Theodorus Rashduni, twenty-four years
31. Hamazazp, Guarabagad, twenty-five years
32. Keikor Badrig, twenty years
33. Ashot Bagratuni, seventeen years
34. Nerses Gamasaragan, twenty years
35. Smbat Bagratuni, twenty years
36. Ashot Bagratuni, eighteen years
37. Smbat, his son, twelve years

Then came kings of Armenian origin:

38. Ashot Msager, twenty years
39. Smbat Aplapas, thirty years
40. Ashot, his son, forty years
41. Smbat, his son, twenty-two years.

After Smbat was murdered, no Armenian king or governor was set up because the Arabs ruled Greater Armenia. They were followed by the Turks who ruled the Armenians until this day.

...lacuna... of a few lines

In his time the Greeks assembled in all over the Armenian countries and rejected the Council of Chalcedon in the time of the emperors Zeno and Anastasius.

16. Samuel of Peznun from the village Arzuhe, ten years
17. Mor Musa from the village of Alaperiz, five years
18. Mor Isaac from the village of Agabij (Ekekige), five years
19. Mor Christophor from the village of PakRabbant, six years
20. Mor Leon from the village of Aresd, three years
21. Nerses from the village of Megdala, seven years
22. Ohannes from the village of Sinsegban, seventeen years
23. Moses from the village of Elebart, thirty years. During his reign, he instructed that history should be written down in the form of a chronology like the one the Armenians did in the time of Megeg Knouni.
24. Abraham Eregduni from the village of Agap, thirteen years. In his time, the troubles in the region of under Armenian authority quieted down, and the Armenians abolished the traditions of the Greeks in anticipation of accepting the Council of Chalcedon. The catholicos of the Iberians then was Quirion who created a schism.
25. Mor Ohan from Gogobita, twenty-six years. Ohan set up an Armenian catholicos in the time of the Catholicos Abraham. He made ready a house for the episcopate of Ohan in Qodas, the village of Laban.
26. Mor Gomidas from the village of Aghsis of the family of Horpsima, eight years
27. Mor Christophorus from the noble family of Mor Abraham, three years
28. Mor Ezr from the village of Paraznagerd who was raised in the house of the catholicate, ten years
29. Mor Nerses

Other matters should have been added to this chronicle. However, the copyist who transcribed this copy said that he could not copy except these portions because it was deficient in the beginning and the end. Reader! Pray for the sinner, poor and lowly copyist for the sake of our Lord.

Jacob of Edessa mentions nine Armenian kings who ruled before the establishment of the late Persian kingdom, that is, before the advent of the Lord. They are Khosrov, Terdat, Khosrov, Tiran, Ashaq (Arshak), Pap, Urstat (Varazdat), Ashaq (Arshak), and Valshaq (Valarshak). Their rule extended until the rise of the Christian kings, and the Armenian kings united themselves to the believing kings after the Armenians embraced Christianity. However, the Persian kings imposed their authority over them and did not allow them to have rulers of their own. This is what Malphono (doctor, teacher) Jacob said.²⁴²⁹

The Armenians claim that Ashaq, one of their kings, is the one who killed King Antiochus and controlled Syria, Jerusalem, entire Palestine, Athor (Mesopotamia) and Babylon. He filled the sea with ships. Then, he marched to the West, devastated Italy, and controlled Rome. He set up two statues between two mountains from which gold was extracted. When he returned to the regions of Greece, he struck a marble pillar with his lance and made a hole in it. When the sages of Athens saw this, they said, "The head of the lance must have been stained with the blood of a poisonous monster which perforated that solid stone." This Ashaq ravaged the island of the Iberians, took its people captive, and stationed them in the northern mountains to be slaves to the Armenians. These are the people called today as Iberians. After he ruled for thirty years, he died in Nisibin.

²⁴²⁹ See "Chronicon Jacobi Edesseni", by E. W. Brooks in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Vol. 4, 3d Series (1903): 211.

BOOK TWENTY-ONE

This is what is written in the books of the Armenians, which they consider a fact. Actually, it is like the fables of the Chaldeans.

Now we write down the names of the Nestorian Catholicoses:²⁴³⁰

1. Aqaq (Acacius) was educated in the School of Edessa with Barsoum and Narsai, who studied the writings of Deodorus and Theodorus in this Aramaic school. When he entered the country of the Greeks, they had Aulos, a disciple of Theodorus, their guide. When they returned to the East, Aqaq was chosen and ordained in a place called al-Mada'in (Ctesiphon). He gathered bishops of his own dogma of whom were Barsoum the Rhetorician, and Yuhanon (John), bishop of Beth Garmai (present-day Kirkuk, Iraq) and determined that, in Christ the Son, there are two *qnume* (hypostases, substances), two natures and two essences and one unique prosopon.
2. Yani (Babai). After Aqaq, Babai, his disciple, was ordained in al-Mada'in (Ctesiphon) and administered (the Episcopal office) for six years. He issued an order that priests could marry more than once. He also allowed catholicoses to marry.
3. Shila. After Babi that is "Demanded," came Shila. He was a priest with wife and a son. He was ordained in al-Mada'in. He served for eight years, died and was buried in Ctesiphon.
4. Narsai was ordained after Shila. However, he was not accepted by the majority of the people because his ordination was not unanimous.
5. Elisha was ordained outside the mentioned place. A conflict stirred up among the people who split into two factions one condemning the other. When Narsai died, Elisha was deposed.
6. Bulus (Paul) was a bishop of Jundisapur when he was elected a catholicos. They forced him to unfrock the bishops who were ordained by Narsai and Elisha, and he did one after the other. He died after one year.
7. Mar Aba served for sixteen years. He was a Magian by race and had profane education. He was ordained in the sixth year of the rule of Khusro (Anusheerwan) who waged persecution against the Christians. Aba set rules and ordinances for the Nestorians. He resolved that the catholicos should not marry. He commented on the books of Theodorus and extended his teachings.
8. Yusuf (Joseph) served for twelve years. He was a physician proficient in his trade. He added new ordinances to the Nestorians. After twelve years of earnest service, he was afflicted with avarice. He indulged in collecting money, bribing the governors and simony (selling church offices for money). The bishops met and deposed him. He died after three years but the ordinances he set were not abolished.
9. Ezekiel served for eleven years. He was a pupil of Mar Aba and a bishop of Nu'maniyya. After his election and ordination, he administered the office peacefully for eleven years and then died.
10. Yeshu Yab served for fifteen years. He was known as the Arzonaya. He adjusted church orders. He was delegated by Khusro, king of the Persians, to Maurice, king (emperor) of the Greeks. In his time, Beth Garmai was afflicted by wrath. He introduced the three days fasting of Nineveh and the wrath stopped. In his time al-Nu'man ibn al-Mundhir embraced Christianity.
11. Sabar Yeshu served for eight years. He was from Beth Garmai. He was ordained by a threat of the governor who beat the bishops until they ordained him while he was an old man. He died after serving for eight years.
12. Gregorius served four years. He was known as Bar Babai and came from Kashkar (in southern Iraq). He was ordained in al-Mada'in (Ctesiphon) and died after four years of service.
13. Yeshu Yab served for eight years. He was married as a youth. He was ordained by the threatening of the governor in Makka in the fourth year of the Tayoye, Islamic Calendar, (A.D. 626), and died

²⁴³⁰ The Nestorian Bishop Iliyya (Elijah) bar Shinaya (d. 1046), lists the names of the Nestorian Catholicoses which are at variance with those given by Michael Rabo. See *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, translated Rev. Yusuf Habbi, 63-78.

after a short period. The Nestorians went without a catholicos for eighteen years in view of the instability of their conditions.

14. Mar Ammah served for three years. He came from Arzen and became a bishop of Jundisapur. He served three years after his election and ordination.
15. Bar Bastar of Harran. When the bishops assembled, they agreed that they should unanimously endorse who was elected a (catholicos) and depose who refused. When he (Bar Bastar) took their signatures, he said, "I have elected myself to be your leader." and they submitted in spite of themselves. However, his administration was good. He abridged the very lengthy liturgy of Nestorius. On his deathbed, he instructed that his pupil Georgius be ordained (a catholicos). Georgius served for a very short period and died.
16. Yuhanon Bar Marta, who was met with a vehement opposition by the bishops, abandoned his office voluntarily.
17. Hannan Yeshu known to the Nestorians as "the Great." After seven years of service, Yuhanon (Bar Marta) returned and bribed the governor who told Hannan Yeshu, "He (Yuhanon Bar Marta) has more precedence than you. Hand over to him the staff and the mitre; otherwise, you will lose your life." He did because of fear. Yuhanon, accompanied by armed men with swords, went into the city (Ctesiphon) and forced the bishops to accept him (as catholicos). After a while, he died, Hannan Yeshu also died, and the Nestorians remained without a catholicos for twenty-five years.
18. Sliba (Zkha) served for fourteen years. He effaced the name of Yuhanon and proclaimed the name of Hannan Yeshu. After serving fourteen years, he died.
19. Pethion served for twelve years. He was from Beth Garmai and a bishop of Tirhan. After administering the office of the Catholicate for twelve years, he died in the year 123 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar, (A.D. 740).
20. Mar Aba nicknamed Bar Brikha Sibyana. He came from Kashkar of which he was a bishop. Later, he became a catholicos and died after ten years.
21. Sourin was a bishop of Nisibin. He bribed the governor of the city, and he forced the bishops to ordain him a catholicos. The Nestorian nobles, however, met with the Caliph the Saffah (Abu al-Abbas al-Saffah 750-754) who dismissed the governor, and Sourin was deposed and driven out.
22. Yaqub (Jacob) served for nineteen years. When he became a catholicos, Sourin returned to the dignity of a metropolitan. He died after nineteen years of service.
23. Hannan Yeshu served for seven years. He was a bishop of Daquqa and then a catholicos in the year the (Abbasid) Caliph al-Mahdi (775-785) assumed the office of the caliphate.
24. Timothy served for forty-three years. He promised the people of the Mada'in money upon his ordination, but reneged on his promise. After serving for forty-three years, he died in the time of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun (d. 833).
25. Yeshu served four years. He was from the district of Nineveh. He was ordained in the year 205 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar) and died in the Monastery of Klil Yeshu.
26. Gorgis (George) served for four years. He was known as Bar Sabah form Marga. He married a woman and then became a monk and was ordained a bishop. He became a catholicos for four years and then passed away.
27. Sabar Yeshu served for four years. He was a bishop of Harran and was ordained by Iyawannis, metropolitan of Mosul, and was transferred by Timothy to Damascus. When the Caliph al-Ma'mun visited Damascus accompanied by Nestorian nobles, he welcomed them with honor and they elected him a catholicos in the year 217 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar), (A.D. 832). He served for four years and died.
28. Abraham served for thirteen years. He was from Maragha (in Azerbaijan)). He was ordained by order of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tasim. He served for thirteen years and died.

BOOK TWENTY-ONE

29. Theodosius served for five years. He was a bishop of Beth Garmai²⁴³¹ and then promoted by the catholicos Sabar Yeshu to the dignity of a metropolitan of Angar. However, conflict was stirred up on his account and he remained in his house for five years without a diocese. Later, he was elected a catholicos.
30. Sergius served for twelve years. He was a metropolitan of Nisibin, and was ordained (a catholicos) by order of the (Abbasid) caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861) in the year 1171 of the Syriac calendar. He served four years. After him, the See of the Catholicate was vacant for four years.
31. Anush served seven years. He was a metropolitan of Mosul. He served for seven years and died in the year 270 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar), (A.D. 883).
32. Yuhanon served eight years. He is known as Bar Narsai. He was bishop of the Anbar and became a catholicos in the year 271 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar), (A.D. 884). He served eight years and died.
33. Iyawannis served six years. He is nephew of Theodosius. On Pentecost, he commented from the pulpit on the homily of the Theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) on the Holy Spirit. He was admired by the bishops because he was well versed in church sciences. He was ordained (a catholicos) in the year 288 of Hijra (A.D. 900). He served for six years and died.
34. Yuhanon served four years. The Nestorians were split into two factions, one promoting Theodosius, metropolitan of Jundisapur as a candidate; the other factions wanted Yuhanon Bar Isa the Lamé. After suffering great losses, they agreed to cast a lot on both of them, and Yuhanon won. He was ordained (a catholicos), served four years, and died.
35. Abraham served thirty-two years. He was a bishop of Beth Garmai and was ordained a catholicos in the time of the (Abbasid) caliph al-Muktafi (d. 908). He served for thirty-two years and died.
36. Emmanuel served twenty-two years. He was ordained in the year 326 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar), (A.D. 937). He served for twenty-two years and passed away.
37. Israel served twenty-six years. He was a bishop of Kashkar and then ordained a catholicos. He served for twenty-six years and died.
38. Mari served fourteen years. He was from Mosul and became a bishop and then a metropolitan in Persia. He was then ordained a catholicos, served fourteen years, and passed away.
39. Yuhanon was a bishop of a region called Sana. He became a metropolitan of Persia. However, the Nestorians of Baghdad chose him as a catholicos in the year 391 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar), (A.D. 1000). He became a friend of Ignatius Bar Qiqi, the Jacobite catholicos (maphryono) of Takrit.²⁴³² He served nine years and then passed away.

End of the above table of names that we have found. However, the Syriac copy used and published by J.B. Chabot adds the following on p. 777, “we have found this table of names in a book written by Deacon Gouria in the year 2199 of the Greeks/A.D. 1888.” This passage is written in Garshuni (Arabic in Syriac letters). Gouria is the Deacon who has transcribed the copy Michael’s Chronicle for Chabot, as shown by Mor Gregorius Yuhanna Ibrahim, Metropolitan of Aleppo, in his preface to the *Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great* (Gorgias Press, 2009), xii.

Addendum

The Bishops of Rome:

1. Peter, 25 years
2. Linus, 12 years

²⁴³¹ In the district of Sulaymaniyy in northern Iraq.

²⁴³² For a biography of Marcus Bar Qiqi (d.1016), see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated into English by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 414.

3. Analetus, 11 years
4. Clement, 9 years
5. Evaristus, 8 years
6. Alexander, 52 years
7. Xistus, 10, years
8. Telesphorus, 11 years
9. Hyginus, 4 years
10. Pius, 15 years
11. Anicius, 11 years
12. Soter, 9 years
13. Zephyrinus, 8 years
14. Calistus, 5 years
15. Eleutherus, 15 years
16. Victor, 12 years
17. Urbanus, 9 years
18. Pontianus, 5 years
19. Anterus, 8 years
20. Fabian, 11 years
21. Cornelius, 2 years
22. Lucius, 4 years
23. Stephan, 1 year
24. Xistus, ii years and 5 months
25. Dionysius, 8 years
26. Felix, 4 years and 1 month
27. Eutychius, 1 year
28. Gaius, 11 years and 4 months
29. Marcus, 1 year and 4 months

Bishops before the time of Persecution:

30. Eusebius, 6 months
31. Militiades, 31 years
32. Sylvester, 23 years
33. Marcus, 2 years
34. Julius 15 years
35. Liberius, 4 years
36. Felix
37. Damasus
38. Siricius
39. Anastasius, 3 years
40. Innocent, 15 years
41. Zosimus, 7 years
42. Celestinus, 9 years
43. Leon, heretic, 21 years
44. Gallus, 8 years
45. Hilarius, 7 years
46. Simplicius, 16 years
47. Anastasius, 11 years

Here the Bishops are Chalcedonians:

48. Symmachus, 6 years
49. Teorontos, 4 years
50. Hormisdas, 10 years
51. Iwannis, 14 years
52. Felix, 35 years
53. Vigilius, 20 years
54. Agapius, 15 years
55. Silvester
56. Pelagius
57. Zosos
58. Martinus
59. Agathon
60. Adrian

The Bishops of Alexandria:

1. Marcus, 22 years
2. Ananius, 22 years
3. Milius, who is Akilius (Abilius)
4. Cerdon, 11 years
5. Primus, 12 years
6. Justus, 11 years
7. Eumenius, 13 years
8. Marcianus, 10 years
9. Celadion, 14 years
10. Agrippianus, 12 years
11. Julianus, 14 years
12. Demetrius, 43 years
13. Heraclius, 16 years
14. Dionysius, 17 years
15. Maximus, 18 years
16. Theonas, 19 years
17. Petrus, 10 years
18. Achilleus, 6 years
19. Alexander, 15 years
20. Athanasius, 46 years
21. Petrus, 7 years
22. Lucius an Arian
23. Timothy, brother of Petrua, 3 years
24. Theophylus, 28 years
25. Cyril, 33 years
26. Dioscorus, 7 years
27. Proterius
28. Timothy Goumrara, 20 years
29. Timothy
30. Yuhanna, a heretic
31. Petrus, 12 years

32. Athanasius, 7 years
33. Yuhannan, 9 years
34. Iwannis, 11 years
35. Dioscorus, 11 years
36. Timothy, 11 years
37. Theodosius, 38 years
38. Petrus, 1 year
39. Gayana, a heretic
40. Paul, 40 years
41. Zoilus
42. Apollinarius
43. Theodorus
44. Petrus
45. Yuhanna, Chalcedonian
46. Damian
47. Anastasus
48. Andronicus,
49. Benjamin,
50. Cyrus, Chalcedonian
51. Agathon
52. Yuhannes
53. Simeon
54. Isaac,
55. Alexander
56. Cosmas, 40 years
57. Iwannis
58. Marcus
59. Jacob
60. Simeon
61. Joseph

The Bishops of Ephesus:

1. Andrea, 12 years
2. Astikos, 10 years
3. Onesimus, 14 years
4. Polycarp, 17 years
5. Politrobos, 16 years
6. Diogenes, 8 years
7. Athenodorus, 13 years
8. Eleutherius
9. Philippus
10. Polycarp
11. Euzoius, 5 years
12. Laurentius
13. Olympus
14. Protonicus, 18 years
15. Marcus, 13 years
16. Cornelius

17. Constantinus
18. Titus
19. Domitian, 11 years
20. Probus

Here the Bishopric seat was transferred to Constantinople:

21. Alexander 23 years
22. Paul
23. Macedonius, Arian
24. Eusebius
25. Eudoxius, heretic
26. Demophilus, Arian
27. Evagrius
28. Gregory the Great Nazianzus, 10 years
29. Nectarius, 7 years
30. Iwannis, 1 year
31. Arcasius
32. Atticus
33. Sisinnus
34. Nestor, heretic
35. Maximian, 2 years
36. Proclus
37. Flavian, heretic
38. Anatolius, heretic
39. Gennadius, heretic
40. Acacius
41. Flabitus, 4 months
42. Euphemius, heretic
43. Macedonius, heretic
44. Timothy
45. Yuhanna, Chalcedonian
46. Epiphanius, Chalcedonian
47. Anthimus

Here the Bishops are Chalcedonians:

48. Yuhanna
49. Cyriacus
50. Sergius
51. Mennas
52. Germanicus
53. Theodotus

Bibliography

- Abu al-Fida, al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Isma'il Abu al-. *al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbār al-Bashar*, *Recueil des Historiens Des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux*. Vol. 1. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1872. Repr. 1969: 1-165.
- Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn fi Akhbār al-Dawlatayn* 2. Vols. Cairo, 1870-1871.
- A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, of R. Payne Smith, ed. J. Payne Smith (Mrs. Morgoliouth), Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1903.
- Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. Walter de Gruyter, 1933.
- Acts of Paul and Thecla* in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Rev. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 8. WM. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1951, repr. 1974.
- Assermani, Guiseppe Simone (Joseph Assermani). *Biblioteca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*. 4 Vols., especially Vol. 2. Typis Sacrae Congregationis de propaganda fide, 1719-1728.
- Ashur, Said Abd al-Fattah. *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*: Safha Mushriq min Tarikh al-Jihad al-Arabi fi al-Usur al-Wusta, 2 Vols. Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglo al-Misriyya, 1963.
- Astarjian, K. I. *Tarikh al-Umma al-Armaniyya*. Mosul, 1951.
- Ayyub, Chorepiscopus Barsoum. *al-Usul al-Suryaniyya fi Asma' al-Mudun was al-Qur al-Suriyya* (Names of the Cities and Villages of Syria). Dar Mardin: Aleppo, 2000.
- Baladhuri, Ahmad ibn Yahya al-. *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, 3 Vols., ed. Salah al-Din al-Munajjid. Cairo: 1956.
- Baldwin, Marshall W. ed. *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
- *Raymond III of Tripoli and the Fall of Jerusalem*, 1140-1187. Princeton University Press, 1936, Reprint. New York: AMS, 1978.
- Barber, Malcolm. *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994.
- Bar Daysan, *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, in Rev. William Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*. London, 1855, 1-34.
- Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abul Faraj Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus*, translated Ernest A. Wallis Budge, I (Oxford University Press, 1932).
- *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal* (Compendium of the History of Dynasties), ed. Anton Salihani. Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1958.
- *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, translated by Joannes Baptiste Abbeloos and Thomas Josephus Lamy. 3 Vols. Lovanii, 1872-1877. (This is Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*).
- Bar Shinaya. *The Chronicle of Iliyya Bar Shinaya*, translated from the Syriac into Arabic by the Rev. Dr. Yusuf Habbi. Baghdad, 1975.
- Barsoum, Patriarch Ignatius I Aphram. *Al-Lulu al-Manthur*, translated into English by Matti Moosa. Passeggiata Press, 2000, and under the title, *The Scattered Pearls*. Gorgias Press, 2003.
- *The Collected Historical Essays of Aphram I Barsoum*, translated by Matti Moosa. Gorgias Press, 2009.
- Baumstark, Anton. *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*. Bonn, 1922.
- Behnam, Gregorius Bulus. "Dayr Mor Barsoum Qurb Malatya," (The Monastery of Mor Barsoum near Melitene), *Lisan al-Mashriq*, nos. 4-6. Mosul, Iraq, 1951): 153-208.
- *Al-Papa Dioscorus al-Iskandari Hami al-Iman* (Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria the Protector of the Faith) 444-454. Cairo, 1968.
- *Theodora*, translated by Matti Moosa. Gorgias-Beth Antioch Press, 2007.
- Berosos and Manetho, *Introduced and Translated: Native Traditions in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt*, by Gerald P. Verbrugge and John M. Wickersham. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Bettenson, Henry. *Documents of the Christian Church*, Second ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Bevan, A. A. "Manichaeism" in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, 8 New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916, 394-402.
- Bréhier, L. *Vie et Mort de Byzance*. Paris, 1947.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- Brock, S. P. "A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac," *Journal of Theological Studies*, xix. 1968, 626-631.
- Brooks, E. W. "Chanonicon Iacobi Edesseni" *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Vol. 4, 3rd series, 1903, 187-257.
- Burkitt, F. C. *Introductory Essay in S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan*, translated from the Syriac by C. W. Mitchell, Vol. II. London, William Norgate, 1921.
- Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Age of Constantine the Great*, translated by Moses Hadas. Vintage Books: New York, 1967.
- Cahen, Claude. "The Turkish Invasion: The Selchükids," in *A History of the Crusades*, I: 163-164.
- Canard, M. "Arminiya," *The Encyclopedia of Islam I* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960): 636.
- Chabot, J. B. (ed). *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d' Antioche* (1166-1199), 1-3 (Paris, Vol. I, 1899, Vol. II, 1901, Vol. III, 1905, and Vol. IV, (Syriac text), 1910, repr. *Culture et Civilization*, Bruxelles, 1963.
- , Notes by J. B. Chabot in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. Séance du 28 juillet, 1899, 476-484.
- Chalandon, F. *Histoire de la Première Croisade jusqu'à l'élection de Godefroi de Bouillon*. Paris, 1925.
- Chronique de Michel le Grand; Patriarche des Syriens Jacobites; traduite pour la premier fois sur la version Armenienne du pretre Ischok par Victor Langlois*. Venice: Mkhitarist Publishing House, 1868. See Langlois, Victor.
- Chronicle of the Anonymous Edessan*. See J. B. Chabot, *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens, praemisum est: Chronicon anonymum ad A.D. 819 pertinens curante Aphram Barsoum*. *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 81/Syriac, 36. Paris: J. Gabalda Bibliopola, 1920), 192. The second vol. of this *Chronicle* is translated into Arabic by Rev. Albert Abouna under the title *Tarikh al-Ruhawi al-Majbul*. Baghdad, 1980.
- Comnena, Anna. *The Alexiad*, translated by Elizabeth A. Dawes (London, 1967).
- Cureton, Rev. William. *Spicilegium Syriacum*. London: Rivington Waterloo Place, 1855.
- , *Ancient Syriac Documents*. Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967.
- Cyril's Treatises against the Apollinarians, Nestorians and the Synodiasts* in *The Library of the Holy Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church Anterior to the Division of the East and West*, translated by E. B. Pusey. Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1881.
- Denno, Ni'mat Allah. "Jacobitism" *al-Majalla al-Patriarchiyya*, 2, no. 11. Damascus, September, 1963), 83-90.
- Der Nersessian, Sirapie. *The Armenians*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970.
- Dulabani, Rev. Monk Yuhanna. *Al-Qiddis Mor Yaqub al-Baradi'i al-Suryani* (St. Jacob Baradaeus the Syrian). The Syrian Press, Buenos Aires, 1942.
- Duval, Rubens. *La Littérature Syriaque*, translated into Arabic by Rev. Louis Qassab as *Tarikh al-Adab al-Suryani*. Baghdad, 1992.
- Edbury, Peter W. ed. *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*. Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996.
- Enoch. *The Book of Enoch*, translated into English by R. H. Charles. London: S. P. C. K, 1972.
- , *The Book of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* ed. J. T. Milik. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Eusebius' *Chronicle*, Part 1, translated from Classical Armenian by Robert Bedrosian and is available online at <http://rbedrosian.com/euseb.html> and at Internet Archive (<http://www.archive.org/details/EusebiusChroniclechronicon>).
- , Eusebius' *Chronicle* Part II is known as Jerome's *Chronicle*, translated from Latin by Roger Pearse, on the Internet <http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/index.htm#JeromeChronicle> and also at <http://rbedrosian.com/Jerome.htm>.
- , Eusebius. *Ecclesiastical History*, translated by Christian Frederick Cruse. Grand Rapids Michigan: Baker Book House, 1962.
- Evagrius, *History of the Church*. Bound together with the *Ecclesiastical History* of Theodoret. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854.
- Farrar, Frederic W. *Lives of the Fathers: Sketches of Church History in Biography*. 2 Vols. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Blake, 1889.

- Forthingham, A. L. *Stephen Bar Sudaili, the Syrian Mystic and the Book of Hierotheos*. Leiden, 1866.
- Fortescue, Adrian. *The Lesser Christian Churches*. London: Catholic Truth Society, 1913.
- Francis Maria of Salem, R. P. F. *Madmun al-Majma' al-Khalqedoni fi Illat Hartaqat Awtakhi al-Munafiq* (Compendium Sacri Ecumenici Concili Chalcedonensis), Rome, 1694.
- Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, translated into English by Martha Evelyn McGinty, as *Fulcher of Chartres Chronicle of The First Crusade*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941.
- , *Historia Iherosolymotana*. Translated by Frances Rita Ryan. In *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127) mit Erläuterungen und einem Anhang*. Edited by Heinrich Hagenmeyer as *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127*. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913. Reprint, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969.
- Fulton, W. "Trithemism" in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings 12. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 462-464.
- Gelzer, Heinrich. *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, II, Leipzig: 1898, repr. New York: Burt Franklin, n.d.
- George Synkellos. *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, translated by William Adler and Paul Tuffin. Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, translated into English by Rosalind Hill under the title *The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (London, Thomas Nelson, 1962).
- Gibb, A. R. "The Career of Nur al-Din," in *A History of the Crusades*, 1. ed. Marshall W. Baldwin. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
- Graf, Georg. *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Vol. 2. Vatican City, 1947.
- Grant, Michael. *The Roman Emperors*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985.
- Greer, Rowan A. *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Exegete and Theologian*. London: The Faith Press, 1961.
- Gregory of Nazianzus. *The Second Letter of Gregory of Nazianzus to Cledonius Contra Apollinaris*, translated by Charles Gordon Browne and James Edwards Swallow, in *The Library of Christian Classics: Christology of Later Fathers*, ed. Edward Rochie Hardy (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1954, 225-229).
- Gregory the Priest. *Continuation of the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* in *Matthew of Edessa*. Translated by Ara Doustorian.
- Grousset, René. *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*. Paris, 1934.
- , *The Epic of the Crusades*. Translated by Noel Lindsay. New York: Orion Book, 1970.
- , *Grousset, L' Empire du Levant*. Paris, 1949.
- Haase, Felix. "Die armenische Rezension der syrischen Chronik Michaels des Grossen," *Oriens Christianus*. Neue Series V, 13 (1915), 69-82 and 271-283.
- Habashi, Hasan. *Nur al-Din wa al-Salibiyyun*. Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, 1948.
- Harnack, Adolph. *History of Dogma*, translated by Neil Buchanan, 7 Vols. New York: Dover Publication, Inc., nd.
- Henderson, Bernard F. *Five Roman Emperors*. Barnes and Noble, 1927, repr. 1969.
- Hespel, Robert. *Sévère d'Antioche, Le Philalèthe*. Louvain, 1952.
- Heyd, W. *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge* I. Leipzig, 1935.
- Hitti, Philip. *History of the Arabs*, Tenth ed. Macmillan, St. Martin's Press, 1970.
- Honigsmann, E. "Malatya," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed C.E. Bosworth et al., VI Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1991, 230-231.
- Hort, Fenton John Anthony. "Bardaisan," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, edited by William Smith and Henry Wace, 1, Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1877, 250-260.
- Ibn al-Adim, Kamal al-Din. *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkar, 2 Vols. Damascus, 1988.
- Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux* III. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1844.
- , *Zubdat al-Halab fi Tarikh Halab*. ed Sami al-Dahhan. 2 Vols. Damascus: 1954.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ibn al-Athir, Izz al-Din. *Kamel a-Tawarikh (Kitab al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh)*. Vols. 1 an 2, *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux* Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1872 and 1887, reprint. Israel, 1969.
- Ibn al-Jawzi, Abu al-Muzaffar Yusuf Ibn Kizoghlu Sib. *Mir'at al-Zaman fi Tarikh al-A'yan*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux* III. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884, reprint. Israel, 1969.
- Ibn Mu'yassir, Muhammad ibn Ali. *Muntakhabat (extracts) from Tarikh Ibn Mu'yassir*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux* III. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884, reprint. Israel, 1969.
- Ibn Shaddad, al-Qadi Baha al-Din Abu al-Mahasin Yusuf ibn Rafi ibn Tamim. *al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wa al-Mahasin al-Yusufiyya*. *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux* III. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884, reprint. 1969. An English translation of this source is by D. S. Richards, Ashgate 2001.
- Ibn Taghribirdi, Abu al-Mahasin Jamal al-Din. *al-Nujum al-Zahira*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux* III. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884, reprint. Israel, 1969.
- Ibn al-Qalanisi, Abu Ya'la Hamza. *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. H. F. Amedroz. Beirut, 1908.
- Ibn Wadih, Ahmad. *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, 3 Vols. Al-Najaf, 1939.
- Ibn Wasil, Jamal al-Din Muhammad Ibn Salim. *Mufarrij al-Kurub fi Akhbar Bani Ayyub*. Ed. Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal. Vol. 1. Cairo: al-Matba'a al-Amiriyya, 1953. Vol 2. Same Matba'a, 1957.
- Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Tawarikh Al Seljuk*, abridged by al-Fath ibn Ali al-Bundari, edited by M. Th. Houtsma. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1899.
- *Sana al-Barq al-Shami*, abridged by Qiwam al-Din al-Fath ibn Ali al-Bundari, ed. Ramadan Sheshen. Beirut, Dar al-Kitab al-Jadid, 1971.
- Ignatius Yacoub III, *History of the Syrian Church of India*, translated by Matti Moosa. Gorgias Press, 2009.
- *al-Shubada al-Himyariyyun al-Arab fi al-Watha'iq al-Suryaniyya* (The Himyarite Arab Martyrs in the Syriac Documents). Damascus, 1966.
- *Nafh al Abir aw Sirat al-Patriarch Severus al-Kabir* (Biography of the Great Patriarch Severus). Damascus, 1970.
- *Mar Yaqub al-Baradi'i* (St. Jacob Baradaeus), Damascus, 1978.
- *History of the Monastery of Saint Matthew in Mosul*, translated by Matti Moosa. Gorgias Press, 2008.
- *Tarikh al-Kanisa al-Suryaniyya al-Antakiyya* (History of the Syrian Church of Antioch). 2 Vols. Beirut, 1957. The author wrote this book when he was the metropolitan of Beirut under the name Severus Jacob Tuma.
- Iorga, N. *L' Armenie Cilicienne*. Paris: J. Gamber, 1930.
- Iskanderian, Galust Ter Grigorian. *Die Kreuzfahrer und ihre Beziehungen zu den armenischen Nachbarfürsten bis zum Untergange der Grafschaft Edessa*, Leipzig, 1951, published as a thesis by the University of Leipzig.
- Janzuri, Aliyyah Abd al-Sami al-. *Imarat al-Ruha al-Salibiyya*. Cairo, 1975.
- John Malalas. *The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation* by Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys and Roger Scott. Melbourne, 1986.
- *The Chronicle of John Malalas Books VIII-XVIII*, translated from the Church Slavonic by Matthew Spinka. The University of Chicago Press, 1940.
- John of Ephesus. *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus* by R. Payne Smith. Oxford, 1860.
- Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, translated by William Whiston as *The Works of Flavius Josephus*. New York: Worthington Co. 1888; *Wars of the Jews*, 551-783; *Against Apion*, 784-823.
- Kelly, J. N. D. *Early Christian Doctrines*, revised edition. Harper and Row, Publishers, 1978.
- Land, J. P. N. *Joannes Bischof von Ephesos. Der erste syrische Kirchenhistoriker*, (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1856), 44-45.
- Lang, David Marshall. *The Armenians: A People in Exile*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981.
- Langlois, Victor.(ed). *Chronique de Michel le Grand, Patriarche des Syrien Jacobites, traduite pour la première fois sur la version arménienne du prêtre Ischôk* by Victor Langlois. Mkhitarist Publishing House: Paris, 1868.
- Lane-Poole, Stanley. *Muhammadan Dynasties: Chronological and Genealogical Tables with Historical Introductions*. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1965.

- Larson, Martin A. *The Religion of the Occident*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959, Chapter XV on Marcion, 545-561.
- Leo, Bishop of Rome. *The Tome of Pope Leo the Great*, (with Latin text), translated by E. H. Blakeney. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1923.
- The Tome of Leo*, translated by William Bright in *Christology of the Later Fathers*, ed. Edward Rochie Hardy. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1954, 359-370.
- Macler, Frédéric. "Armenia," *Cambridge Medieval History*, 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1170-1171.
- Mansi, Joannes Dominicus. *Sacrorum conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio*. Vol. 6 Florence and Venice, 1759-1798, reprinted, Graz; Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt.
- Margoliouth, G. *Descriptive Lists of the Syriac and Karshun manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since 1873*. London, 1899.
- Mas'udi, Abu al-Hasan al-. *Muruj al-Dhahab wa Ma'adin al-Jawhar*, 4 Vols. edited by Muhyi al-Din Abd al-Hamid. Cairo: Dar al-Raja', 1938.
- Matthew of Edessa. *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*. Translated from the Armenian by Ara Dostourian. Lanham. MD: University Press of America, 1993.
- Matthews, John. *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.
- Mélikoff, I. "Danismendids," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat and J. Schacht. II Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1965, 110-111.
- Moosa, Matti. *The Maronites in History*. Syracuse University Press, 1986, repr. Gorgias Press, 2005.
- Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat Sects*. Syracuse University Press, 1988.
- The Crusades: Conflict between Christendom and Islam*. Gorgias Press, 2008.
- "Jacob of Edessa" on the Internet at the website www.syriacstudies.com.
- Morris, Leon. *The Gospel According to John*. Wm. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1977.
- Mu'nis, Husayn. *Nur al-Din Mahmud: Sirat Mujabid Sadiq* (Cairo, 1959).
- Newburgh, William of. *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. and trans. Richard Howlett as *Chronicle of the Reigns Stephen Henry II, and Richard I*, 1. London: 1884. Reprint. Wiesbaden: Kraus, 1964.
- Nicholson, Robert Lawrence. *Joscelin I, Prince of Edessa*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1954.
- Niketas Choniates, *Annals of Niketas Choniates*. Translated by Harry J. Magouilas as *O City of Byzantium*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984.
- Nikiu. *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic Text by R. H. Charles. London: William Norgate, 1916.
- Ostrogorsky, George. *History of the Byzantine State*. Transl. by J. Hussey. Oxford at the University Press, 1956.
- History of the Byzantine State*. Translated by Joan Hussey. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1957.
- Otto, bishop of Freising, *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of the Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D.* Translated by Charles Christopher Mierow. New York: Octagon Books, 1966.
- Pearse, Roger. *Armenian Versions of Michael's Chronicle*. Found on the internet.
- Philip, E. M. *The Indian Church of St. Thomas*. Edited by Kuriakos Corepsicopa Moolayil. Mor Adai Study Center. 1908 and 2002.
- Phillips, George. *Scholia On Passages of the Old Testament by Mar Jacob*. London, 1864.
- Phillott, Rev. Henry Wright. "Marcion," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Vol. III. London: John Murray, 1882, 816-824.
- Psellus, Michael. *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, translated by E. R. A. Sewter (Routledge and Kegan Paul Press, and Yale University Press, 1953, reprinted Penguin Books, 1966.
- Röhrich, Reinhold. *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem 1100-1291*. Innsbruck, 1898.
- Runciman, Steven. "The First Crusade: Constantinople to Antioch," in *A History of the Crusades I*. Ed. by Marshall W. Baldwin. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969, 280-284.
- A History of the Crusades*, 3 Vols. Harper: Torch Books, 1965

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- . *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign: A History of Tenth-Century Byzantium*. Cambridge, 1929.
- Rustum, Asad. *al-Rum fi Sisasatibim, Dadaratinbim, Dinibim, Thaqafatibim and Silatibim bi al-Arab*, 2 Vols. Beirut: Dar al-Makshuf, 1955.
- Salmon, Rev. George. "Methodius," *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace, III, London, 1882, 909-911.
- . "Montanus," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace, III. London, 1881, 935-945.
- . "Polycarpus," *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace, IV. London, 1887, 423-431.
- Samuel, V. C. *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*. Madras, 1977.
- Schaff, Philip. *The Creeds of Christendom*, II. New York: Harper & Brother, 1882.
- Schmidt, Andrea. "Die zweifache armenische Rezension der syrischen Chronik Michaels der Grossen," in *Le Museon*, 109 (1996), pp. 299-319.
- Sellers, R. V. *The Council of Chalcedon*. London: S.P. C.K, 1961.
- . *Two Ancient Christologies*. London: S. P. C. K. 1940.
- Shahid, Irfan. *The Martyrs of Najran: New Document*. 1971.
- Socrates Scholasticus. *Ecclesiastical History*, Nu Vision Publications, 2007.
- Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, translated by Joseph Gavorse. New York: Random House, the Modern Library, 1931.
- Tabari, Abu Ja'far ibn Jarir al-. *Tarikh al-Umam wa al-Muluk* 8 Vols. Cairo: Matba'at al-Istiqama, 1939.
- The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, translated into English and edited by Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, 3 Vols. Liverpool University Press, 2005.
- The Second Synod of Ephesus*, translated by Rev. S. G. F. Perry. Dartford, England: The Orient Press, 1881.
- Theodoret. *History of the Church*, bound together with the *History of Evagrius*. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854.
- Theophanes, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, translated by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Theophanes. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Anni mundi 6095-6305 (A.D. 602-813)*, edited and translated by Harry Turtledove. The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.
- Usama ibn Munqidh, *Kitab al-I'tibar*. Translated into English by Philip Hitti under the title *An Arab Syrian Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usama ibn Munqidh*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929.
- Vasiliev, A. A. *History of the Byzantine Empire*. 2 Vols. Madison and Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press. 1964.
- Weir, Hans. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Cornell University Press, 1961.
- Weltecke, Dorothea. "The World Chronicle by Patriarch Michael the Great (1126-1199): Some Reflections," *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1997): 6-29.
- William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, I translated by Emily Atwater and A. C. Krey. Columbia University Press, 1943.
- Wordsworth, Rev. John. "Julianus, Flavius Claudius, in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace, Vol. III (London: John Murray, 1882, 484-525.
- Wright, William. *A Short History of Syriac Literature*. London, 1894.
- Yewdale, R. B. *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch*. Princeton, 1924.
- Zachariah of Mitylene. *The Syriac Chronicle Known as That of Zachariah of Mitylene*, translated into English by J. Hamilton E. W. Brooks. London, 1899.
- Zakkar, Suhayl. *Madkhal ila Tarikh al-Hurub al-Salibiyya*. Beirut: Dar al-Amana, 1972.
- Zuqnin. *The Chronicle of Zuqnin Parts III and IV*. Translated from the Syriac by Amir Harrak. Toronto, Ontario Canada: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1999.

About the Translator

Matti Moosa, a native of Mosul, Iraq, and an American citizen since 1965, holds a Law degree from Baghdad Law School, Iraq, a United Nations Diploma of Merit from the University of Wales in Swansea, and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Middle Eastern history and culture from Columbia University in New York City. His publications include *The Origins of Modern Arabic Fiction*, 1983, 2nd ed., (1997) *The Maronites in History* (1986), translated into Arabic under the title *Al-Mawarina fi al-Tarikh* (Damascus, 2004), *Extremist Shiites: the Ghulat Sects* (1988); *The Early Novels of Naguib Mahfouz: Images of Modern Egypt* (1994); *The Crusades: Conflict between Christendom and Islam* (2008) and many other translated books. He has also contributed numerous articles on Middle Eastern history and culture to leading periodicals.